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THE SCHOOL POLITICS OF TWO COMMUNITIES WERE REPORTED. RANDOM-SAMPLE SURVEYS WERE CONDUCTED FOR BOTH THE SCHOOL DISTRICTS OF EUGENE AND SPRINGFIELD. INTERVIEWS WERE MADE WITH 703 RANDOMLY SELECTED ADULTS IN EUGENE AND 528 IN SPRINGFIELD. ATTITUDE OR ORIENTATION MEASUREMENTS WERE OBTAINED FOR VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THEIR PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS. THESE MEASURES WERE OBTAINED 4 YEARS LATER, AFTER THE NEW TECHNIQUES HAD BEEN INITIATED IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEMS. THE FINDINGS INDICATED BOTH PROGRAMS HAD A VISIBLE IMPACT UPON CITIZENS, BOTH IN THEIR CONVERSATION AND THEIR REGARD FOR THEIR SCHOOLS. (RS)

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EDUCATIONAL INNOVATIONS IN THE COMMUNITY

Cooperative Research Project No. OE 3-10-039

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CHAPTER I

Two Cities - The Experimental Settings

In the state of Oregon in the Pacific Northwest, the population boom of the 1940s and 1950s resulted in the attainment by one county of Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) status by the 1960 Census. This was -- and still is -- the only SMSA in the state outside of Portland -- a city of almost 400,000 in a three county SMSA of about 822,000 people.

The two major population centers in Lane County, the newest SMSA, are the neighboring cities of Eugene and Springfield. It is those cities and their school districts that constitute the natural laboratory for the study of school politics reported in the following chapters. In this chapter we shall describe something of these community laboratories prior to 1959, the year of our first set of research measurements and something of the experiments undertaken as well as of purposes of the research undertaking.

The Communities of Eugene and Springfield

The two school districts that encompass the cities of Eugene and Springfield were selected as experimental and control communities in this study for two reasons. One was that in the first but not in the second city a political decision was made to engage in a highly-publicized effort to modernize the public school system through the introduction of new teaching techniques. The second reason was that a certain political current of extreme conservation had made itself evident in local politics in both cities, which provided an occasion to explore the potential movement of that current into school politics -- a domain it has been known to enter in other communities on occasion.

The two cities are relatively small even though in 1965 Eugene is the second largest city in the state and Springfield is the sixth largest. By 1960, Eugene was a city of approximately 51,000 inhabitants, while Springfield contained nearly 20,000 citizens. Their school districts headquartered in their respective cities, but the boundaries of those districts extended beyond the two sets of city limits into suburban and more rural environs.

Both cities and both school districts had grown rapidly in population from 1940 to 1950 and continued their growth, although at a slower rate, in the decade of the 1950s. From 1940 to 1950, the city of Eugene, comprising the bulk of the school district's population, grew in population from 20,838 to 35,879. From 1950 to 1960, the city's population moved from 35,879 to 50,977 inhabitants. In Springfield, a very small town of 3,805 residents in 1940 became a city of 10,807 in 1950 and of 19,616 inhabitants in 1960. The school populations grew from 4,294 to 12,703 in Eugene in these two decades and from 1,341 to 6,754 in Springfield during the same period.

Eugene was the home of the University of Oregon, a fact that combined with the less than enthusiastic efforts in the past to attract industry to give a white collar, middle class cast to the city. This was the appearance, even though about half of the working force was actually engaged in blue rather than white collar occupations. As the seat of the county government and with a complex of both state and federal agencies, this traditional rail center of both wholesale and retail trade for surrounding still-rural environs emphasized the quality of the schools as well as the college preparatory character of the curriculum.

Springfield, on the other hand, was the center of the more recently developed "lumber capitol" of the region. As forests were cut over to meet the needs of the nation in the early war years, lumber processing and manufacturing shifted its geographical center from more northerly areas to central, western Oregon, and particularly to Lane County and the city of Springfield. Annexations of much of the newly-located lumbering factories and warehouses saw Springfield grow in area as well as in population during the late forties and fifties. Because the economic lifeblood of Springfield was the industrial effort to harvest and process and transport lumber, its reputation as a blue collar, working class community accorded with reality. A very small proportion of Springfield citizens had white collar occupations.

During the early fifties, the school system of Springfield seemed to concentrate its energies in developing the plant and equipment necessary for the large new numbers of children whose relatively young parents had migrated there to work in the lumber companies. A community of traditionally few cultural and entertainment facilities, and with Springfielders sufficiently mobile in their cars and jeeps to consume the services offered by nearby Eugene, various civic leaders expended energies to develop successfully local recreational and park facilities and services during the late forties and during the fifties while the schools did their share by providing high school athletics for the students, their parents, and the sportsminded citizens generally.

College careers were still few and far between for the graduates of Springfield's high schools compared to the situation in the sister city of Eugene although by 1959 increasing emphasis was being placed in the school system itself on efforts to increase the proportions of college-bound youth in this mill city. The citizens of both cities had been relatively faithful supporters of the schools at the polls in the post-war era, particularly the Eugeneans. Although turnouts were traditionally small, as they are in most communities, voters ordinarily responded affirmatively both to requests to reaffirm approval of the basic operating budget (a system peculiar to the state and explained in the next chapter) and for special levies to finance bond issues for capital construction. Prior to 1959, Eugeneans had last voted against a budget in 19~~6~~53 when the construction of a new high school had caused public divisions in the ordinarily consensual annual politics of budget-passage.

Local politics in Eugene and Springfield apart from school politics had somewhat different post-war traditions. In Eugene, a more or less unified civic leadership devoted energies to constructing the facilities needed for a suddenly increased population. Although the city had a municipally-owned electric and water utility company that had solid support from the community at large, there were indications of occasional stirrings by conservative citizens objecting to what appeared to be constant local tax increases. That ideology seemed to be part of the picture in the failures of some citizens to obtain municipally-owned parking lots, public kindergartens and fluoridation of the city water system. In 1960 the radical right joined with others in administering a crushing defeat to a proposed urban renewal

TABLE 1-1

SCHOOL BUDGET AND BOND ISSUE ELECTIONS, EUGENE AND SPRINGFIELD SCHOOL DISTRICTS, 1959-1964

	EUGENE				SPRINGFIELD			
	Budget		Bond Issue		Budget		Bond Issue	
	Amount	Pass or Fail	Amount	Pass or Fail	Amount	Pass or Fail	Amount	Pass or Fail
1959	$3,232,347	P	$1,200,000	P	$1,442,289	P	$1,600,000	P
1960	$3,299.646	P	$3,000,000	P	$1,724,926	P	$ 500,000	F
1961	$3,970,189	P	- - -		$1,924,255	P	$ 600,000	P
1962	$4,853,766	P	$2,500,000	P	$2,360,585	P	- - -	
1963	$6,264,028	F	- - -		$2,709,142	P	$3,450,000	P
	$5,951,866	F						
	$4,698,686	P						
1964	$5,876,595	P	$4,750,000	P	$2,363,659	F	- - -	
					$2,333,659	P		

program in the downtown area.[1] A proposed expressway through the city was not only defeated; the authority to build such roads was removed from the city council by the voters through an initiative petition route. On the other hand, the forces of community conservation and progressive conservatism were successful in a variety of civic improvement measures at the polls through the same period.[2]

Springfield, on the other hand, had much more tumultuous politics in the decade and a half since World War II. The initiative, referendum and recall were almost standard weapons in battles between forces of labor and management, downtown merchants and suburban industrialists, community conservationists and radical rightists. The question of a municipally owned utility was not resolved when the voters established one; competition between the municipal and the privately owned utility continued within the city of Springfield. Urban renewal was approved by a small margin, but opponents then thwarted future programs by eliminating the city's housing code, a federal requirement for urban renewal.

All in all, Springfield was the city of almost constant local political turmoil during this period compared to the comparative peace and quiet of Eugene's city politics. Yet both cities by 1959 were communities where the local manifestations of the national rising of the far right made various school decision-makers wonder whether their arenas were to witness similar efforts to curtail existing services or to block extensions or reorganizations of educational programs and practices by men and women whose anger seemed to be directed in part at the decision-making authority of administrative officials, bureaucrats, and "experts" which was so traditional a pattern in local school power structures. The openness of community politics in both cities and the existence of organized radical right groups with some experience and, perhaps most importantly, some success in attaining power in the local polity simultaneously distinguishes the kinds of communities in which the research reported in the following pages took place and provides particularly interesting and accessible settings to observe the consequences on citizens and school politics of a major effort to innovate in a local public school system.

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[1] Agger, Robert E. "Panel Studies of Comparative Community Political Decision-Making: Dynamics of Urban Renewal." Chapter 12 in M. K. Jennings and L. H. Zeigler (eds.), The Electoral Process,(Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), pp. 265-289.

[2] Agger, Robert E., Daniel Goldrich, and Bert E. Swanson, The Rulers and the Ruled: Political Power and Impotence in American Communities (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964), see Chapter I for a discussion of these ideologies.

The Natural Experiment and the Research Design

The year 1959 marked the last time at which measurements might be made in both Eugene and Springfield prior to the introduction of the major experimental variable: a highly publicized, focused program of educational modernization innovations in Eugene's public school system.

The Eugene school system, as every public school system, faces at every moment in time a complex of problems for which innovations might be designed to provide more satisfactory solutions or states of affairs than currently exist. This has become most obvious even to lay publics in recent years with the major expenditures of resources on such matters as developing a more efficient and productive teaching technology (teaching machines, the "new" mathematics and English, teaching via closed-circuit television, etc.), developing a more productive aggregation of educational resources through the elimination of one-room school houses and consolidating small districts into larger, unified districts, and, most recently, developing special programs and practices for meeting the needs of increasingly permanent poverty groups in American society. The poverty program has its educational thrust in pre-school programs, in quasi-kindergarten operations such as Operation Headstart, in "model schools" for ghettos, black and white, in intermediate school patterns, and in various programs of "special education" designed particularly for the culturally disadvantaged -- including the transportation or bussing of children to schools in more culturally advantaged areas.

Eugene, as Springfield, had a manifold of alternative innovations potentially engaging the attention and energies of educational decision-makers desirous of securing a more satisfactory goal-attainment, not to speak of securing ends that first required the specification of additional goals as within the legitimate purview of educational authorities. As simply one example, a report in 1964 by the officials of the county in which both Eugene and Springfield are located indicated that the area was lagging behind national efforts in its special educational programs for the exceptional child.[3] Sixteen per cent of the county's students qualify as exceptional in some respect -- mental retardation, behavioral problems, speech, reading, hearing or vision impairments, physical limitations or superior intellect. Less than one-quarter of such exceptional children were assertedly being served in the county compared to a national service rate of 35 per cent.

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[3] Eugene Register-Guard, November 25, 1964, Sec. B, p. 1.

The aforementioned listing of categories used by the county's director of special education to designate the meaning of the exceptional child and of special education as the term has been used is neither idiosyncratic nor without significance in terms of what it excludes. Children of superior intellect are mentioned, children for whom many school systems make a special effort to provide programs of enrichment or other special educational opportunities. It does not include children of "superior _interests_" albeit without superior intellect, nor children of average intellect but with the special problems that accrue to those from socio-economically or culturally disadvantaged sectors of society.

For reasons that are partly due to the particular person who became Eugene's school superintendent, partly to the traditions of the community as well as of the particular school board of directors then in office, and partly to patterns and processes evident nationally in the late 1950s, Eugene's school system began a much publicized program to modernize local education, to bring the latest technology of a human and physical engineering character to the procedures and practises of teaching in the public schools. This program was designed not for the poverty-stricken pupils nor the "culturally deprived" but, rather, for the segment of pupils and parents historically bound for and appreciative of the college preparatory "track" thought to be the central task of the public school system. In a basic sense, the program was an effort to make routine and non-special various teaching techniques that had earlier been regarded as special education, particularly for the students of superior or above-average intellect.

The notion of bringing into the day-to-day activities of teachers and administrators such innovations as team teaching, specially skilled "resource" teachers, and other features of modern pedagogy was thought by a variety of school officials to be productive of better teaching that would be bound to benefit all kinds of students. Yet, as we shall see, the effort to establish a more experimental attitude on the part of teachers took the form for most of the period of interest, 1959 to 1963, of improved or innovating teaching techniques of most immediate benefit to the college-bound, or at least parents and patrons were most likely to perceive such benefits accruing therefrom. It was this widely-publicized program of new teaching techniques, known in local school jargon as "the Eugene Project," that constituted the experimental factor of critical interest in this study.

During 1959, and prior to the introduction of the Eugene Project, random sample surveys were conducted in the school districts of both Eugene and Springfield. At that time 703 randomly selected adults were interviewed in Eugene and 528 similarly chosen adults were interviewed in Springfield. Base-line measurements were obtained, including attitudes or orientations towards various aspects of their public school systems. In 1963, 250 and 271 respondents in the Eugene and Springfield samples, respectively, were re-interviewed while additional smaller samples in each city were interviewed for the first time. Efforts were made to assess whether orientations of citizens towards their schools were affected during this four-year period by the inititation in Eugene of the program of new teaching techniques, i.e., of the Eugene Project. Springfield was to serve as the experimental control community given the fact that it did not engage in a comparably massively publicized program of new teaching techniques. Because Springfield did, in fact, initiate various aspects of new teaching techniques during this four-year period, the experiment concerned a widely-publicized versus a much quieter, more administrative program of new teaching techniques. (A third community was selected for the initial purpose of control which did not institute such new teaching techniques, even in a non-public, quiet manner.)

In any such natural experiment wherein the experimental community witnesses a major experimental stimulus such as the Eugene Project and the control community does not, efforts must be made to examine the natural history between the two sets of pre- and post-experimental measurements to assess how likely any changes in the measurements in the experimental community, or any differences in the before and after measurements between the experimental and control communities, might be due to other factors than the experimental stimulus. The various experimental stimuli thought to be of relevance are described in the next chapter along with the Eugene Project and Springfield's less public program of new teaching techniques. At the second point in time at which measurements were made via the sample survey, Eugene suffered a comparatively extraordinary defeat of its basic budget -- not once, but twice before final passage just prior to the opening of schools in the fall. Those school budget defeats became intertwined with the Eugene Project in the eyes of a number of school officials and lay citizens in Eugene. The researchers were also uncertain whether those electoral events were or were not aspects of citizen reaction to the Eugene Project. Their occurrence provided an especially good opportunity to probe into the question and to illuminate some of the fascinating dynamics of the politics of school budget defeats and passage, some of which we think are quite revealing of the dynamics of such events in other communities even though the personalities and conditions of other communities differ to some inescapable degree from those of Eugene in 1963.

A Birds Eye View of Some of the Findings

The findings to be reported in detail in the following pages can be summarized in short as follows. The Eugene Project had very limited impacts in affecting citizen orientations towards their schools. The impact was quite limited in part because a comparatively unprecedented program of public information and public relations reached relatively few people in the community -- at least insofar as the local trademark "the Eugene Project" was concerned. Further analysis revealed, however, that both Eugene's and Springfield's (far less publicized) program of new teaching techniques seemed to have substantial reinforcement of pre-existing positive public school attitudes and improvement of initially less than positive public school attitudes. Both programs had a visible impact in terms of the content of citizen conversation about their schools, as well as impacts on various kinds of citizen orientations towards their schools.

Analysis of these impacts revealed that they did not take place in a straightforward fashion as predicted by a simple local autonomy model of educational decision-making's effects on citizens. The third community, that was characterized by the absence of any substantial innovations in teaching techniques, attested to the existence of a process that provides for both local decision-making impacts and the inflows of information and perspectives from the national decisional arena. That is to say, in the community without new teaching techniques citizens who approved of them were fans of the schools even though the schools there had not yet introduced them. What seems to happen is that in communities such as Eugene and Springfield where innovations occur in new teaching techniques, the proportions of citizens who learn of them increase, and with awareness of such local innovations comes a greater degree of approval of them. And it is approval of new teaching techniques that relates to positive orientations towards numerous aspects of the public school system.

In the course of making such inferences from the panel study, that is from the sets of measurements made on a set of respondents at two or more times, and in the course of inferring from the data that the defeat of Eugene's school budget was not a consequence of the introduction of the program of educational modernization, the importance of psychological orientations, perspectives or attitudes began to be more fully appreciated. It became possible to measure through items on attitudes various social psychological manifestations of what we term "cultural class." It became possible to demonstrate that such social psychological orderings of sets of citizens gave independent and sometimes better predictive power in regard to various aspects of school political behavior than did such indicators of social class as formal educational level or than did such indicators of educational interests as having children in public school or not. An orientation that we term the generalized civic improvement orientation not only related extremely strongly to school budget voting intention but extended beyond school policy matters to a disposition towards taxes to "improve city services."

Those, and other, findings are detailed in the pages that follow. We shall add only one other finding at this point. The study revealed in manifest ways -- to the extent that Eugene and Springfield are not unique or extremely atypical -- that educational decision-makers face at one and the same time a much more structured situation than they realize, or a situation structured differently than many of them realize, and a citizenry that is more changeable and less rigid than one might expect given the fact that some citizens are almost permanent fans of the schools and others are almost permanent foes. Citizen orientations towards the schools are not static; they do change over time. A number of citizens seem to be so marginally-related to the schools that their attitudes change almost at random. On the other hand, changes in such citizen orientations are traceable in a number of instances to particular actions of educational decision-makers whether those be to institute approved programs of new teaching techniques, or even more approved programs for the more culturally disadvantaged citizens, or to appear to be responsive to a few influentials and to ignore the wishes of less substantial citizens in deciding whose children must bus to a new school in a suburban part of town. And it is a structured cultural class system that faces educational decision-makers, a system of which they are part without always or fully realizing it and a system that does not correspond to simple socio-economic class categories or even more simplified interested-uninterested or dutiful-apathetic dichotomies of a kind frequently used by school officials in their own decision-making calculations.

It is such cultural class systems that cry for further research, analysis, and understanding, and it is such policy perspective and attitude changeability and opinion-formation that cry for a continuation of the analysis that stops far short in this report of clarifying the dynamics of concern. Our own natural experimental research continues and we already have collected data over additional periods of time that we hope will lead to a better understanding of what factors lead to changes in other factors rather than simply having to remain content with statements of relationship that do not specify more clearly the directions of particular cause-and-effect flows.

In the following chapter, the reader is introduced to the particular citizen orientations towards their schools that comprise one set of the key dependent variables of the study. The key independent variable, the Eugene Project, and the new teaching techniques in the Springfield school system, as well as other possible experimental stimuli in both cities, are described in some detail. The reader should be cautioned that it is impossible to avoid giving the impression that the Eugene Project and other local educational events reported in Chapter II constituted more of the daily news or of current community events than they actually did from 1960 to 1963. Although both the Eugene Project and the Eugene school boundary controversy were given extraordinary coverage in the local press and the former was also the subject of numerous special pieces of literature, international, national, state and other community news constituted the major mosaic into which tiny bits and pieces of such school news were embedded.

This cautionary note is introduced not only because the reader is bound to receive much more of a cumulative, compressed, intensive picture of local school politics from the next chapter than did the average or even non-average citizen of Eugene from 1959 to 1960 but also to underline that this stress on local educational happenings omits the kinds of information and messages to the citizens of these Oregon communities from more diverse sources of national educational developments. Post-Sputnik concerns with educational modernization innovations and needs on the part of national government, civic leaders, and educational officials, as well as stories of such programs and policies as instituted in other communities, were part and parcel of the educational environment of Eugeneans and Springfielders through their newspapers, television, magazines and other informational sources. The reader will appreciate in Chapter IV that the failure to even attempt to obtain measurements, however crudely, of the kinds and amounts of such extra-community sources of potential influence on the community educational orientations of citizens in these two Northwestern cities was in the first instance a failure in the theory that guided this study. While we can assume that for the most part such extra-community influences were similar for Eugeneans and Springfielders (as well as for residents of the third, control community), we cannot make that assumption for subgroups within each city, nor can we deal with the conceivably variable kinds and amounts of such national decision-making influence over time -- from 1959 to 1963 and later. With these caveats relative to limitations of the study, we turn now to the study itself.

CHAPTER II

CHANGE AND STABILITY IN CITIZEN ORIENTATIONS TOWARD THEIR SCHOOLS: A NATURAL EXPERIMENT FROM 1959 TO 1963

In order to test for the effects, if any, of the introduction of a major program of modernization innovations, the Eugene Project, and of one of its central features, new teaching techniques, it behooves us to describe the effects in which we are interested and their states as of Times 1 and 3 (1959 and 1963) in Eugene and Springfield--the experimental and control communities.

We shall take six measures as indicative of various aspects of citizen orientations toward their public school system. These consist of a) very general ratings of the school systems, b) an educational ideology evaluation, c) a school decision-maker cynicism item, d) a conception of the school-community power structure, and e,f) two fiscal attitudinal items regarding programs of additional special education and establishing public kindergartens (the latter absent in both communities). Perhaps the key aspect of citizen orientations toward their public schools is their voting support of, or opposition to, operating budgets and bond issues. A separate chapter will be devoted to the analysis of the impacts of the Eugene Project and other factors on behavior in school budget elections. The aforementioned kinds of citizen orientations are important in their own right, however, in affecting the degree to which school officials can communicate with, organize support from among, and learn of needs and criticisms of citizens in regard to non-electoral program decisions. Moreover, as we shall soon show, they all seem to be related, to greater or lesser degrees, to citizen school election voting intentions.

The Operational Definitions of Citizen School Orientations Variables

The first variable, a) the general rating of the schools, is derived from specified responses of "very good," "good," and "not very good" with those refusing, unable to answer, or responding by saying "don't know" being classified in a fourth category. The item asked for a rating in those terms of "the local public school system."

The second variable, b) an educational ideology evaluation, was derived from Guttman-scaling procedures applied to a six-point agree strongly through disagree strongly set of response alternatives for the following four statements:

1) The public schools are not teaching the fundamentals as well as they used to.
2) Nowadays children get pampered too much in the public schools.
3) There is too much emphasis on cooperation in our public schools and not enough emphasis on competition.
4) Public schools change too many children away from their parents' ideas.[1]

These items were developed by Peter Rossi and associates for the Bay City study and termed "The Criticism Index" in an unpublished memorandum. It was termed the "censure" scale by William D. Knill whose Guttman-scaling procedures, order of item difficulty, cutting points, and analysis were applied to the Time 1 data collected in Eugene and Springfield.[2] Analysis of the Time 3 data indicated that the order of item difficulty remained the same, thereby permitting an identical Time 3 scale-construction. Knill preferred the term "censure" in that he felt that the word "criticism" as used by the formulators of these items implied a discriminating, conscious judgment which these items did not necessarily tap. In our view this scale seems to represent a continuum whose poles might be termed "traditional" and "progressive" in orientations toward the proper role and functions of the schools, and those orientations are usefully conceived of as ideological in character.[3]

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[1] Appendix A contains information on the scale developed from these items.

It appears as a matter of face validity that those who agree with these items are unhappy with a perceived undue progressivism in the operations of the public schools. This would seem to be the case on the assumption that the traditional-minded would be prone to be dissatisfied and critical--given the numerous critiques in the popular press and journals prepared by articulate publicists propounding a return to a more "basic," more "fundamental," more traditional method of teaching. It is unclear as to whether disagreement comes from a perception that the schools are presently suitably progressive or traditional in their orientations.

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[2] William Douglas Knill, "An Analysis of Attitudes Toward the Public Schools," (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, School of Education, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, June, 1960).

[3] As a matter of ideology, these orientations would represent an elaboration and specification of an aspect of that concept as defined in Robert E. Agger, Daniel Goldrich, and Bert Swanson, The Rulers and the Ruled: Political Power and Impotence in American Communities (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1964), pp. 14-32.

To test that assumption more directly, two relatively moralistic, ideological-type items were taken from the noted F-scale and correlations run between those items and those comprising the educational ideological scale. The F-scale items were:

> What youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country.

and

> Most of our social problems could be solved if we could somehow get rid of the immoral, feebleminded, and crooked people.

Every one of the four traditionalist-progressive items (a term hereinafter used for this educational ideology evaluation scale) was positively related to the two selected F-scale items at Times 1 and 3 (1959 and 1963) among the Eugene-Springfield respondents. The traditionalist-progressive items when scaled as a whole, as measured at Times 1 and 3, were positively associated with those two items also measured at those two points in time. Thus it would appear that those disagreeing with these items do tend to be progressive in orientation rather than people who are satisfied that the schools are performing their tasks adequately and properly in a traditional manner.

School decision-maker cynicism, variable c), is measured by asking respondents:

> If you were concerned about a local community problem and contacted the appropriate officials, how do you think they would react? Which of the following statements best describes the way the officials in each group would respond to you? School officials would . . .
>
> 1) Understand my problem and do what they could about it,
> 2) Listen to me but would try to avoid doing anything--would try to pass the buck,
> 3) Ignore me or would dismiss me as soon as they could.

The conception of an aspect of the school-community power structure used for variable d) relates to the images of citizens about the political status roles of school officials--whether they are responsive to demands by the citizens, or by influentials, or are relatively autonomous decision-makers. The specific item read:

> Which of the following statements do you think best applies to these officials? School officials. . .
>
> 1) Do pretty much what the citizens want,
> 2) Do what some of the more influential people want,
> 3) Do what they themselves think best. (Emphasis in the interview schedule.)[4]

Finally, attitudes toward expenditures for special education programs and kindergartens, variables e) and f), were measured by asking respondents:

> Would you tell us what you feel about the following things, whether you strongly approve, approve, are undecided, disapprove, strongly disapprove or don't care?
>
> 1) Spending more money on special education.
> 2) Providing public kindergartens out of school tax monies.

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[4] The analytic or theoretical assumption is that for the most part respondents selecting the alternative indicating school official responsiveness to the citizens have a more positive view of such officials than those selecting the other alternatives. To some extent this is incorrect, for some of the citizens, particularly highly educated citizens, tend to feel that school decision-makers ought to be relatively autonomous decision-makers and, hence, their selection of the third alternative listed above does not necessarily mean that they have a more negative view of officials than those selecting the first alternative. Thus, we expect that in some of the relationships reported below there are weaker associations between this variable and others than there would have been if the measure more accurately reflected a positive-negative evaluative dimension. However, see the relationship reported in Table 2-1 and the discussion of the "right rulers" dimension in Chapter 4, infra.

Relationships of Citizen School Orientations Variables and School Budget Voting Intentions

Before the actual collection and analysis of the data, we were quite uncertain as to whether the aforementioned citizen school orientations vairables would relate to such matters as pre-election voting intentions. A case could be made that one or more or all of the variables would be unrelated to school budget voting attitudes because of the overriding importance of such factors as whether or not people had children in school, or whether they were members of such school-related organizations as the Parents-Teachers Association, or whether they were non-participants in school affairs. A non-participant in school affairs, for example, theoretically could rate the schools as "very good," conceive of school decision-makers as responsive to individual citizen demands in a trusting rather than cynical framework, and so on, but be prepared to vote against school budgets because of the irrelevance of schools to him as witnessed by his apathy or non-participation. An earlier-reported analysis of Time 2 data in Eugene indicated that favorable attitudes both toward public kindergartens and spending more money on special education did relate positively to pro-school budget attitudes, but the relationship was not particularly strong, especially in the case of the special education variable.[5]

Our findings indicate (Table 2-1) that every one of the selected variables did relate to voting intentions in both Eugene and Springfield at Time 3. On the first variable, the very general rating of the schools,

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[5] See Robert E. Agger, "The Politics of Local Education: A Comparative Study of Community Decision-Making," in A Forward Look--The Preparation of School Administrators 1970, ed. by Donald Tope (Eugene: University of Oregon Press, 1960), pp. 131-172.

TABLE 2-1

Relationships between Citizen School Orientations Variables and School Budget Voting Intentions--Time 3

	Voting Intentions - Eugene					
	For	Against	Not Sure	No Answer Don't know	Totals %	N
a. Rating of the Schools						
Very good	38%	44	15	2	99	81
Good	30%	49	21	1	101	146
Not very good	--%	90	10	-	100	10
Don't know	17%	58	25	-	100	12
b. Educational Ideology						
Progressive (approving)	46%	37	17	-	100	54
	53%	34	11	3	101	38
Mixed	30%	56	15	-	101	61
	22%	56	20	2	100	41
Traditional (critical)	6%	69	23	3	101	35
No answer	14%	48	38	-	100	21
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism						
Trusting (do what they could)	42%	39	18	1	100	147
Cynical (pass the buck)	22%	57	20	-	99	49
Very cynical (ignore me)	--%	100	--	-	100	23
Distant (don't know and no answer)	14%	52	28	7	101	29
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness						
To citizens	40%	40	19	1	100	75
To themselves	33%	50	16	1	100	101
To influentials	26%	60	14	-	100	42
Don't know and no answer	10%	55	31	3	99	29
e. Spending for Special Education						
Strongly approve	47%	35	19	-	101	43
Approve	39%	41	19	2	101	122
Undecided and don't care	10%	51	37	2	100	41
Disapprove	10%	90	--	-	100	30
Strongly disapprove	9%	91	--	-	100	11
Don't know and no answer	67%	33	--	-	100	3
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens						
Strongly approve	47%	37	16	-	100	19
Approve	47%	32	18	3	100	60
Undecided and don't care	30%	46	24	-	100	50
Disapprove	26%	59	15	-	100	86
Strongly disapprove	9%	70	18	3	100	33
Don't know and no answer	--%	50	50	-	100	2

(Continued on page 24)

TABLE 2-1 (Continued)

Relationships between Citizen School Orientations Variables and School Budget Voting Intentions--Time 3

	Voting Intentions - Springfield					
	For	Against	Not Sure	No Answer Don't Know	Totals %	N
a. Rating of the Schools						
Very good	38%	45	16	1	100	96
Good	23%	56	21	1	101	145
Not very good	27%	64	9	-	100	11
Don't know	11%	78	6	6	101	18
b. Educational Ideology						
Progressive (approving)	43%	31	24	2	100	54
	32%	46	22	-	100	41
Mixed	25%	56	18	1	100	68
	30%	62	7	2	101	61
Traditional (critical)	14%	69	17	-	100	29
No answer	--%	72	22	6	100	18
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism						
Trusting (do what they could)	39%	42	19	1	101	171
Cynical (pass the buck)	12%	70	18	-	100	50
Very cynical (ignore me)	--%	84	16	-	100	25
Distant (don't know and no answer)	12%	72	8	8	100	25
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness						
To citizens	44%	36	19	-	99	99
To themselves	24%	57	17	2	100	90
To influentials	12%	69	19	-	100	58
Don't know and no answer	8%	75	8	8	99	24
e. Spending for Special Education						
Strongly approve	54%	29	17	-	100	41
Approve	29%	49	20	2	100	143
Undecided and don't care	19%	58	21	2	100	43
Disapprove	7%	90	3	-	100	29
Strongly disapprove	8%	77	15	-	100	13
Don't know and no answer	--%	100	--	-	100	2
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens						
Strongly approve	45%	35	20	-	100	20
Approve	37%	45	18	-	100	65
Undecided and don't care	28%	43	30	-	101	47
Disapprove	22%	62	14	2	100	101
Strongly disapprove	18%	68	8	5	99	38
Don't know and no answer	--%	--	---	-	---	--

there was a strongly skewed distribution with relatively few people evaluating the schools as "not very good." However, it is clear that anti-budget sentiments increased as one moved from citizens who rated the schools as "very good" through those rating the schools as "good" to the small minority rating the schools as "not very good." In Eugene, not a single one of the 10 respondents rating the schools as "not very good" was for the school budget measure--compared to 38 per cent of those rating the schools as "very good" being in favor of that measure.

The relationships between these variables and voting intentions varied from weaker to stronger, but every variable appears to be associated with attitudes toward a "property tax increase to pay for a larger school district budget," our item measuring voting intentions at Time 3. The strongest relationship in both cities turned out to be between the school decision-maker cynicism item and school budget attitudes. Not a single one of the most cynical citizens, i.e., those who felt they would be ignored or dismissed by school officials, was for a property tax increase to pay for a larger school district budget, compared to 42 and 39 per cent of those who were trusting of their officials' responsiveness in Eugene and Springfield, respectively. But the other variables also proved to be relevant for this most important matter of citizen support for the schools, i.e., citizen dispositions to vote for or against additional property taxes for school operations. Postponing further consideration of the matter of electoral support and opposition to a later chapter, we shall now report on the state of affairs in regard to these six variables as of Times 1 and 3 in both Eugene and Springfield.

Community Comparison of Citizen School Orientations: Time 1

The state of citizen orientations on the six dimensions in the experimental and control communities is reported in Table 2-2. Perhaps the most striking general impression is the similarity of citizen sentiments toward their respective school systems in the two cities as of that time. Although not entirely unexpected, this is somewhat surprising from two points of view. First, the local financial effort--taxes levied locally per pupil--was about the same for Eugene and Springfield, but the wealth of the two school districts was substantially different. In the latter district there was about $1,000 less assessed value of taxable property per pupil than in the former. This means that the relative financial effort by citizens to support their schools was greater in Springfield than in Eugene. One might assume that this would lead to a somewhat jaundiced view of their school officials on the part of the citizens of Springfield, or at least to a substantially lesser disposition to expend more money on such things as special education. One might even suspect that such a relative financial effort might have led to serious questioning of the worth of the school system itself--as reflected in a something less than "very good" evaluation. The logic of the comparative analysis suggests that while such a dynamic may have been occurring for citizens within Springfield, the favorable evaluation of the schools by citizens there relative to that in Eugene makes that suspicion and the aforementioned assumptions incorrect.

The second reason for being surprised about the similarity in citizen school orientations has to do more directly with the socio-economic contrasts in the two communities. As we indicated earlier, Springfield is not only a city of relatively lower-assessed property

TABLE 2-2
Citizen School Orientations as of Time 1

	Eugene		Springfield	
	%	N	%	N
a. Rate the local public schools				
Very good	32%	79	37%	101
Good	50	124	48	130
Not very good	10	24	4	12
Don't know	8	19	10	26
No answer	2	4	1	2
Totals:	102%	250	100%	271
b. Educational Ideology				
Progressive (approving)	20%	50	21%	57
	12	29	11	29
Mixed	20	51	20	53
	25	62	21	58
Traditional (critical)	11	27	15	41
No answer	12	31	12	32
Totals:	100%	250	100%	271
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
Trusting (do what they could)	60%	151	62%	169
Cynical (pass the buck)	20	50	16	43
Very cynical (ignore me)	6	15	5	13
Distant (don't know and no answer)	14	34	17	46
Totals:	100%	250	100%	271
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
To citizens	34%	84	41%	111
To themselves	27	67	25	68
To influentials	24	59	17	45
Don't know and no answer	16	40	18	47
Totals:	101%	250	101%	271
e. Spending for Special Education				
Strongly approve	22%	54	19%	53
Approve	53	132	59	161
Undecided and don't care	12	31	10	27
Disapprove	6	16	7	18
Strongly disapprove	4	10	4	10
Don't know or no answer	3	7	1	2
Totals:	100%	250	100%	271
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
Strongly approve	13%	32	7%	19
Approve	30	76	34	92
Undecided and don't care	17	33	18	49
Disapprove	20	51	27	53
Strongly disapprove	15	38	13	36
Don't know or no answer	4	10	1	2
Totals:	99%	250	100%	271

values, it is a city of lower income, less well-educated, more blue collar citizens than is the case in Eugene. It has been noted in many studies that citizens of lower socio-economic rank tend to be less supportive and have less favorable evaluations of various aspects of the operations of public schools than those of higher rank. We shall examine directly whether this was or was not the case in our two cities, and then specify why, in the light of socio-economic differences between the communities, citizen school evaluations and orientations were so similar for Eugeneans and Springfielders.

It can be seen from Table 2-3 that there is a positive relationship in both cities between rating of the schools and educational level, an indicator of socio-economic rank. So too, is there such a relationship in regard to traditionalism, although it is not linear in Springfield. There the moderately educated are more progressive than are the highly educated. Educational decision-maker trust increases with level of education, while alienation ("ignore me or dismiss me") and distance ("don't know") increases as level of education decreases. Ignorance of, or inability to conceive of, the political status roles of school officials increases with decreasing levels of education. In Eugene, there is an increasing conception of decision-making autonomy on the part of school officials with increasing levels of education, whereas in Springfield there is an increasing conception of school officials as responsive to citizens as educational level increases. In both cities, increasing levels of education mean generally increased support for greater fiscal efforts in special education and for the establishment of public kindergartens. The moderately educated in Springfield are more strongly approving of kindergartens than the highly educated citizens,

TABLE 2-3

Relationship of Educational Level to Citizen School Orientation Variables--Time 1

	Level of Education					
	Eugene			Springfield		
	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
a. Rating of the Schools						
Very good	25%	28	39	24	48	46
Good	54%	48	48	51	47	42
Not very good	10%	9	10	8	1	2
Don't know	10%	13	2	--	--	4
Total N:	(61)	(85)	(104)	(121)	(100)	(53)
b. Educational Ideology						
Progressive (approving)	8%	16	30	14	29	21
	7%	8	17	7	13	15
Mixed	20%	27	15	23	15	21
	28%	22	25	19	21	27
Traditional (critical)	15%	15	5	15	17	12
No answer	23%	11	8	22	4	4
Total N:	(61)	(85)	(104)	(121)	(100)	(53)
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism						
Trusting (do what they could)	51%	62	64	47	72	81
Cynical (pass the buck)	16%	24	19	17	15	13
Very cynical (ignore me)	13%	2	5	7	4	2
Distant	20%	12	12	29	9	4
Total N:	(61)	(85)	(104)	(121)	(100)	(53)
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness						
To citizens	29%	38	33	32	47	50
To themselves	21%	24	33	24	20	37
To influentials	24%	21	25	18	19	10
Don't know and no answer	25%	17	10	27	13	4
Total N:	(61)	(85)	(104)	(121)	(100)	(53)
e. Spending for Special Education						
Strongly approve	8%	26	26	12	23	31
Approve	56%	49	54	62	60	54
Undecided and don't care	10%	16	11	12	8	10
Disapprove	10%	4	7	8	5	6
Strongly disapprove	8%	4	2	7	2	--
Don't know and no answer	8%	1	1	--	2	--
Total N:	(61)	(85)	(104)	(121)	(100)	(53)
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens						
Strongly approve	5%	19	13	6	7	10
Approve	31%	28	32	32	34	38
Undecided and don't care	13%	21	16	14	24	15
Disapprove	16%	18	25	30	23	27
Strongly disapprove	23%	12	13	17	11	10
Don't know and no answer	12%	2	1	2	--	--

and the two groups are equal in strong approval of increased expenditure for special education.

In summary, then, while the relationships are not particularly strong nor always linear, citizens of higher educational levels do tend to have more favorable orientations toward their schools than do citizens of lower educational levels. While there are some reversals between the moderately and highly educated, there tend to be relatively substantial differences between the citizens categorized as of low educational level and those of higher educational levels.

The difference in educational levels among the citizens of the two community samples is substantial. In the Eugene sample 24 per cent of the citizens were classified as of low educational level, in comparison with such a classification for 44 per cent of the Springfield sample. The proportion of highly educated citizens in Eugene is more than double that of Springfield: 42 to 19 per cent, respectively. Why, then, given these community differences in socio-economic composition and the aforementioned relationships between socio-economic level and citizen orientations toward their schools, do we not find that the citizens of Eugene have more favorable, supportive attitudes toward their schools than do the citizens of Springfield?

Taking the rating of the schools item first, we found that the citizens of Springfield actually rated their schools as very good to a slightly greater degree, and their schools as not very good to a lesser degree, than the citizens in Eugene (Table 2-2). The poorly educated in both cities had relatively comparable ratings which means that the relatively small proportion of moderately and highly educated citizens in Springfield must have rated their schools more favorably than did their counterparts in Eugene to explain the over-all more favorable ratings in the former than the latter city--and this we find to be the case (Table 2-3). The highly educated and particularly the moderately educated citizens in Springfield rated their schools as very good more frequently, and as not very good less frequently, than did the highly and moderately educated citizens of Eugene. This more than made up for the poorly educated, working class character of Springfield compared to Eugene.

The poorly educated of Springfield were slightly less critical or somewhat more progressivist in their school orientations than were the poorly educated of Eugene. This was even more the case with the moderately educated. These two differences compensated for a more traditionalist perspective of the highly educated in Springfield compared to the highly educated in Eugene.

In Springfield the poorly educated were particularly distant from their decision-makers but in Eugene the poorly educated, while less distant, were relatively more alienated (Table 2-3, supra). Taken together, the poorly educated in the two cities were similar in their school decision-making cynicism attitudes. However, the highly educated of Springfield and, to a lesser extent, the moderately educated of that city, were trusting of school decision-makers not only more than the poorly educated Springfielders, but more than the equally well-educated Eugeneans.

A similar pattern is found for the conception of the school-community power structure. The poorly educated of both cities were comparable in their conceptions of the political status roles or responsiveness of officials. The better-educated, particularly the highly educated, Springfielders conceived of their officials as responsive to the citizens more frequently than did the better-educated Eugeneans.

Turning now to the special education expenditure item, we find that the absence of the expected disapproval of the Springfield sample, which is comparatively poorer and less well-educated than the Eugene sample, is due to a consistent, slightly greater degree of approval among all educational categories in the former than in the latter city. On the public kindergarten item, the greater degree of strong approval in Eugene than in Springfield is due primarily to its lack of popularity with the moderately-educated Springfielders.

To summarize these complex findings, we note that there is a tendency for the poorly educated in both communities to be comparably less favorably inclined to various aspects of their schools than are the better-educated, a pattern of the better-educated in Springfield evaluating their schools and their school officials somewhat more favorably than their counterparts in Eugene despite the particularly traditionalist attitudes of the highly educated in Springfield, and a pattern of slightly more favorable attitudes on special education although not on public kindergartens on the part of the several socio-economic categories in Springfield compared to Eugene. Whatever the reasons, the important fact for us here is that citizen orientations toward their public schools as of 1959, Time 1, were quite comparable on these six measures in white collar, middle-class Eugene and in blue collar, working-class Springfield.

The Natural Experimental Stimuli

A condition common to both Eugene and Springfield is the need for the voters to ballot each year on the basic school budget. In the absence of a citizen vote to establish a new tax base (a vote rarely occurring), citizens are called upon each May to approve that portion of the school budget which exceeds an amount that is some 6 per cent higher than an established figure, ordinarily set years earlier. Since after a few years school systems can seldom operate even minimally within the so-called 6 per cent limitation figure, this effectively means that the voters must annually pass on the basic operating budget.

Significant Stimuli in Eugene

A Kindergarten Election: A relevant consequence of the yearly budget vote is that new programs which may be controversial, or for which there is reason to suspect widespread voter disapproval, may be submitted to the voters as a separate ballot measure to avoid risking defeat for the basic operating budget of the schools. Public kindergartens in both Eugene and Springfield are of this controversial nature. In May of 1960, the voters in the Eugene school district balloted on the question of establishing public kindergartens to replace a system of P.T.A.-sponsored, part-time fee kindergartens which were attended by only a minority of eligible children in the district. These were naturally the children of the more affluent sectors of the community. Some of the dynamics of that election have been described elsewhere;[6] the important point here is that public kindergartens were disapproved by a 3 to 1 margin at the same time that the school budget passed by a 55-45 per cent vote. The anti-kindergarten campaign and the issue itself might have contributed to a decrease in citizen approval of public kindergartens, one of our six measures of citizen orientations toward their schools. It might have also had an effect on other measures, particularly attitudes toward special education programs. We shall see whether or not this naturally-occurring variable, the kindergarten decision-making process, had such consequences when the Time 3 (1963) states of citizen school orientations are presented and compared to their states as of Time 1 (1959) in a later section of this chapter.

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[6] *Ibid.*

A New Superintendent and the Academically Able: Immediately after the Time 1 interviews, a new school superintendent took office in Eugene after a move by his predecessor into a college teaching post. A man of some national reputation but not known to the bulk of the city's citizens, he had taken a relatively noncommittal position on the public kindergarten issue. It would seem that he did not gain particular favor with the small group of active public kindergarten proponents, but neither did he apparently lose favor with the even more numerous anti-kindergarten activists. His own educational programmatic emphasis, orientation and philosophy is perhaps best revealed by quoting extensively from two articles in the June, 1960 issue of the school district's printed newsletter, Schools in Review. The newsletter contains information about the schools and is distributed four times each year to school children to carry home for their parents. This will also introduce the chronology of the Eugene Project, the experimental variable of central concern in this analysis of natural events of potential impact on citizen orientations toward their schools.

In an article with the caption "Program for Educationally Able and Gifted Expanded in Elementary Schools" it was announced that the school board had approved an "expansion of a program for the educationally able and gifted children in the intermediate grades . . . ." Five "resource teachers" would be employed to work in "ten schools . . . chosen on the basis of the number of educationally able and gifted children who had been identified in the different buildings." The objectives of that program were listed as:

1) Early identification of educationally able and gifted children.
2) Providing help to each of these children in realizing his maximum potential in educational, social, and emotional growth.
3) Providing educational opportunities appropriate to the abilities of the educationally able.
4) Assisting teachers to enable them to work more effectively with these pupils in their classrooms.

There were at that time a total of twenty-three elementary schools. The remaining thirteen were to share one resource teacher, who would also have the responsibility of coordinating the entire program. A resource teacher usually worked with small groups of the "academically talented" children in separate classes a few hours each week on various special projects, research topics and the like.

It is revealing to note something of the characteristics of the ten elementary school attendance areas selected. In the May, 1959 budget election seven of these ten school precincts voted for the budget in a higher ratio than the total vote, whereas only four of the other thirteen school precincts voted in a comparably higher ratio.

It was found (as of 1963) that there were thirteen Republican elementary school voting precincts, eleven Democratic, and two evenly balanced precincts, as classified on the basis of party identification of the registered voters. The ten elementary schools chosen for the resource teacher program were disproportionately Republican: seven were Republican, two were Democratic, and one was evenly balanced. The two Democratic precincts were barely so, by a margin of 51 to 49 per cent in each one. The Republican-Democratic divisions in the school voting precincts correlated highly with the general socio-economic character of each attendance area--although such areas were larger and more heterogeneous than the more numerous and more socially distinctive precincts used in municipal and state elections. The more heavily Republican precincts tended to be more affluent, upper-class neighborhoods and sections of the city, whereas the Democratic precincts were places with opposite characteristics. The proportion of registered Republicans served as a most useful index both before and after 1963 not only of school budget and bond issue support, but also of support for a wide range of municipal, county and state fiscal measures.

This analysis points up the fact that, however "the number of educationally able and gifted children" was arrived at in the selection of the ten schools that were each to receive the half-time services of a resource teacher, those chosen were disproportionately from the more advantaged parts of town and of the social structure.

Educational Modernization--The Eugene Project

The Eugene school administration's and board's conscious emphasis on the educationally able and gifted children and its corollary focus (intended or not) upon the needs of college-bound children of relatively well-educated parents continued an orientation that was not new in this university city of Eugene, but which was to receive additional, pointed, public emphasis in the Eugene Project. One week after the passage of the 1960 school budget and the defeat of the public kindergarten program it was announced by the school board that the Fund for the Advancement of Education (established by the Ford Foundation) had approved a request submitted by the Eugene school district to provide a grant of $15,000 for a six-months "intensive program of planning and development directed to accomplishing a district-wide, comprehensive program of change and innovation in the areas of staff utilization, curriculum improvements, instructional methods and administrative organization." The same June, 1960 issue of Schools in Review announced to school patrons that the Fund for the Advancement of Education (hereinafter referred to as the Ford Foundation as it was to become known, somewhat inaccurately, to citizens involved in the project) understood that the school administration, board of directors, and lay leaders in the Eugene community were "committed to effecting changes in the public schools of Eugene." The fourteen explicit goals included as the first three:

1. The adoption on a district-wide basis of demonstrably better practices emanating from recent education experimentation;
2. Incorporation into the basic education program of the schools of the improved practices resulting from experimentation conducted in the Eugene Public Schools;
3. Extensive use of team teaching.[7]

In that article the school officials revealed something of their thinking about the Eugene citizens as well as something of their own attitudes:

> Eugene and its suburban areas represent the type of community that can engage in such a project with considerable promise of success. Its educational and cultural level is high. The people are interested in good education. A background of desire for and accomplishment of good educational aims has been established over the past quarter of a century. . . . Graduates of the Eugene Schools have achieved well in higher education, professions, industry, business, and the various cultural pursuits.

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[7] Schools in Review, Vol. 6, No. 4 (June 3, 1960), p. 1.

This, then, seemed to be the orientation of the then-current school administration: Eugene was a city of citizens who valued education, who wanted quality education for their children, and who would support and approve of programs to accomplish that end. As the article in point went on to say: "There is a keen interest in having a well balanced school program with a hard core of academic emphasis."

The citizens without strong educational values, the citizens without much of an interest in an "academic emphasis," the citizens whose children were not going to go to college and those whose children were probably going to drop out of college--in all, a substantial proportion of the Eugene population--were not particularly salient sectors of the community to the school officials. This is not to say that the problem of the potential drop-out and the work-bound rather than the college-bound child was not of any concern to the school administration or of deep concern to particular administrators. It is rather to suggest that the emphasis was on developing a school system that would better educate the future leaders of the city, state, and nation, and that the conception of the relevant school public was that relatively large, albeit minority, sector of the citizenry that was comparatively well-educated already or aspiring to academic educational opportunities for its children. This sector was thought to be ordinarily concerned with the schools' operations and quality, and to regularly vote support of school budgets and bond issues: a conception not at variance with the past history of school politics in Eugene, or in most other American communities. The business-professional civic leadership was the category of significant political status for the school board and the new superintendent and his administration, while the poorly-educated citizen or the parent not concerned with his child's formal education was but a dimly apprehended, irrelevant kind of figure in the citizen landscape.

The new school superintendent's orientation toward education in Eugene, as communicated to the citizens through explicit and implicit actions of the school administration and personnel, should be kept in mind as a natural experimental variable when the analysis of citizen orientations toward their schools four years after Time 1 is considered. That orientation was manifested specifically in the Eugene Project, the natural experimental stimulus of central interest here, and in a school boundary decision-making issue to be described shortly.

The school administration attempted to draw an advisory committee of representatives from almost every organized community group accorded positive political status by the "responsible" civic leadership.[8] This so-named Lay Advisory Committee was to sponsor the Eugene Project from its developmental phase on. Although a major difficulty was encountered in obtaining the active involvement of many of the committee members because of the usual multiplicity of demands on the time and energy of such people, at least membership on the committee resulted in the distribution of masses of informational material on the character and condition of the Project to a relatively large number of citizens influential in various aspects of community affairs. The Lay Advisory Committee actually seemed to find itself in the not unusual situation of a group of relatively ignorant laymen being influenced by a set of relatively knowledgeable professionals, with the consequence that the citizen participants tended to have a legitimating function appreciated by the professional school people and not disapproved by those citizens.[9]

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[8] "Political status" is defined and discussed in The Rulers and the Ruled, pp. 51-54.

The proposal submitted to the Lay Advisory Committee, which did make some revision therein, was admittedly "the product of the minds of the professional staff of the Eugene Public Schools."[10] As to the number of professional people involved in its preparation, patrons were informed that

> At least one hundred persons took active part during the planning and writing stages. Although the plan was authored and edited by a small number, it was the "brain child" of the many."[11]

It was equally frankly announced that "The Eugene Project is designed to give staff members the time and encouragement to develop a process by which the best in educational facilities, techniques and programs are continuously being related to the needs of individuals in a changing society." The request for over one million dollars from the foundation for a ten-year program was to be supplemented by "re-directing" an even larger amount from regular budgets into the program with an unstated fraction of that to be "new money."

In order to give "staff members the time and encouragement" needed to modernize educational programs to incorporate such practices as flexibility in admission, scheduling and grouping, guidance and counseling, "vertical" and "horizontal" acceleration, team teaching, teacher aides, extension of the school day, instruction by television, etc., the foundation grant would be used for the following purposes:

> Visitations to other school systems to observe new programs and techniques;

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[9] For a relatively extreme example of such a citizens committee in the policy area of urban renewal, see Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs? (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), pp. 130-37.

[10] Schools in Review, Vol. 7, No. 2 (February 24, 1961), p. 2.

[11] Ibid.

Intensive use of summer months to:
- improve current programs and practices;
- train staff members in new techniques;
- evaluate current and newly developed programs and techniques;
- develop teaching materials and more effective ways of using them;
- survey buildings and develop more functional facilities;
- work with subject-matter specialists to re-appraise concepts and content in subject areas.

It can be seen that those responsible for the Eugene Project envisioned a school staff whose active initiative or, minimally, acquiescence was a necessary condition for the modernization of the curriculum--the primary goal. Interviews with top administrators suggested that they conceived of traditional behavior patterns of lower-level administrators, particularly of teachers, and conscious and unconscious resistances to change as perhaps the over-riding obstacles to the modernization of the schools' programs and practices. Moreover, they saw the Eugene Project as a means to the introduction not only of a given set of modern practices and programs, but as a way to make open-mindedness, receptivity to new ideas and behaviors, and a disposition to experiment the characteristic feature rather than the exception among teachers. This would mean, then, a built-in mechanism for continual modernization of the curriculum and of educational practices as new methods and ideas were invented and discovered in the future. They also conceived of the Eugene Project's emphasis on modernization and the academically-oriented children as fitting the manifest and latent desires of "the" community, which was conceived pretty much as a collectivity with a dominant educational interest, as expressed by the articulate segment of the citizens.

In April of 1961, the schools and the community learned of the rejection of the major proposal by the Fund for the Advancement of

Education as a consequence of the Fund's decision at that time not to make any further school improvement grants, at least temporarily. The announcement was accompanied by a statement that the Eugene Project would proceed, nevertheless, although at a slower pace. The aforementioned stress on the use of the summer months was underlined by a decision to have some forty teachers participate in a four-week workshop on team teaching while others would participate in additional workshops during the summer of 1961. A formal decision by the school board to adopt the Eugene Project as the policy governing curricula and instructional program developments was promulgated.

The Lay Advisory Committee organized its work and elaborated its structure in October of 1961. The school board appointed citizens to serve on four special committees dealing with the "educational plan," "finance," "legislation," and "public information." Besides inviting every formal organization in the community to appoint a member to serve on the Lay Advisory Committee, and inviting a number of citizens because of their skills and interest in educational affairs, the school officials also provided for a network of P.T.A. representatives--one from each building attendance area--to be members of that Committee.

To shorten the story and to focus upon the events most likely to have come to public attention, in January of the following year--1962--the press reported in headlines and the schools reported in boldface type in their newsletter that EUGENE PROJECT RECEIVES GRANT.

A three-year grant of $335,000 was made on the basis of a scaled-down request for fewer years re-submitted in the previous November (1961). The Ford Foundation funds were to be expended primarily for teacher salaries during summer workshop periods and for aides to assist teachers, with lesser sums to be devoted to TV programming, TV teachers, educational films, foreign language laboratories, etc. The emphasis was still on the teachers in the program to modernize the schools' curricula programs and practices but the goals of the Eugene Project were formulated in the following terms, in the number of twelve:

1) and 2) Flexible elementary and secondary schools, including felxibility in scheduling, grouping, etc., identification of the talents and abilities of children, expansion of guidance and counseling services, team teaching, etc.
3) Television instruction
4) Instructional materials centers
5) Inservice programs for principals ("designed to develop educational leadership for a continued breakthrough in education")
6) Developmental reading program expansion and intensification
7) Adult and post-high school education
8) Foreign language program expansion
9) Advanced placement program development
10) Enriched summer school programs
11) Development of scope, sequence, and content in subject matter areas
12) Adaptation of school facilities "to the unique needs of the project" ("appraisal of present school facilities in terms of the accommodations necessary to the innovations as well as continuous research and planning in the design and construction of new school facilities").

The several programs and purposes of the Eugene Project tended to be cast in various kinds of language ranging from abstruse educational jargon to relatively straightforward statements in non-technical language which, however, presupposed some awareness of educational developments and relatively well-developed communications skills. In the 1962-63 annual report on the Eugene Project prepared and distributed to citizens through P.T.A. and other channels by the school officials, the Eugene Project innovations were described in a letter by the Ford Foundation to the superintendent in the following terms:

> Changes in the curriculum, designed to develop a continuum of learning from grade one through the secondary school, --and the technical-vocational school established a year ago as an Education Center for Oregon.

> Systematic development of all the modern resources for learning, --including technological resources.
>
> More effective utilization of talent, both professional and nonprofessional, through development of teaching teams, teacher aides, lay readers and other means for redeploying staff.
>
> Breaking the lockstep progression of pupils in the schools by changes in school admission policies, grade placement practices, time requirements and instructional grouping practices.
>
> More effective use of time--extended school day, extended school week and summer months.
>
> Development of flexible scheduling and school organization practices to accommodate variable-size class groupings, seminar type instruction, greater individual responsibility for learning and progress through school more nearly in accord with individual differences.
>
> Design of new school facilities and modification of many existing facilities to support new instructional arrangements and changes in methods.
>
> Intensive program of in-service teacher education, both in academic subject matter and professional understandings, through organized released time activities, workshops, summer institutes, and regular course work in colleges and universities.
>
> Development of an improved program of guidance and counseling, directed to fuller use of all professional resources of the school for this purpose, reinforced by specialists where needed.

Between January, 1961 and Time 3, April, 1963, such goals were communicated in various ways and in various phrasings to the public-at-large through annual reports, pamphlets and brochures, newspaper stories, television programs, and meetings.[12] As the 1962-1963 annual report indicated in regard to its reception by the professional staff of the schools:

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[12] These phrasings ranged from the relatively abstract and relatively vague to the specific and concrete. Almost every one, however, required some knowledge about educational practices for citizens to comprehend the meaning of the goals.

> A subjective evaluation of the progress made to date in the schools would indicate increased acceptance of the project as part of the instructional program. At first an almost complete dichotomy existed in the thinking of school personnel: the "Project" was one thing, the school program another. During the past year the two have been fairly well integrated in the thinking of most school staffs.

However accurate or inaccurate such a "subjective evaluation," and there is some reason for concluding that it was an overly-sanguine judgment even though qualified by the word "most," it is clear that a very large proportion of the schools' personnel were sharing in the fiscal, professional and other resources made available through the adoption by the board and administration of the Eugene Project and its foundation grant. During the summer of 1962 better than half of the district's teachers and administrators participated in one or more workshops. For the summer of 1963 approximately 41 workshops were scheduled in which again more than half of the teaching and administrative staff were to be involved. Those workshops varied in length from 3 to 40 days with the pay to be $21.00 per day based on six hours at $3.50 per hour. Some administrators were sent to schools in other parts of the country to observe and learn about various educational modernization programs in those other places.

Nor were the members of the school board overlooked in the provisions of the Eugene Project for opening up perspectives in regard to modern educational developments and possibilities for innovations. In October, 1962, an eighteen-man delegation of school board members, citizen members of the Lay Advisory Committee and professional staff personnel traveled to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania to visit and learn about the Pittsburgh Coordinated Education Center.

It is extremely difficult to estimate accurately the progress made in implementing various parts of the Eugene Project within the schools themselves during the approximately one year period immediately preceding our second set of measurements of citizen school orientations, taken during April, 1963. Some sense of the extent to which the educational modernization innovations were introduced can be derived from the annual report of the Eugene Project for the first year of its operation.

That report states that at the elementary school level the "cooperative planning and teaching" process has been implemented more than any of the other named processes, which included: flexible admission, non-graded primary schools, "imaginative grouping" or interest group formation, flexible scheduling, extending the school day, early identification of talents, abilities and interests, use of teacher aides, and counseling and guidance.

The cooperative planning and teaching process, as described, is unlike team teaching wherein groups of students are taught by a set of teachers working together in the same classroom or unit. It is rather a stress on teachers' teaching subjects they know best (as in music, art and physical education) and on planning together--usually at the same grade level--how materials and resources are to be used in a particular course. Some combining of classes is involved, but not very much. This process, which by the end of the first year had proceeded farther than any of the other modernization processes in the Eugene Project, is perhaps the one least visible in itself and in its implications for students and their parents.

The flexible admissions program, for example, was being given systematic attention by only two of the then twenty-five elementary schools in the district. Non-graded primary schools was not necessarily regarded as an objective, but the "attitudes and concepts" requisite to individualized instruction were becoming to be stressed. However, only six schools had combined conventional grades to assess the wisdom of moving toward a formally ungraded primary school set-up. A practice that had already been traditional for some teachers became more widespread: dividing classes informally by such skills as reading ability and having two or more groups in the same class proceed at different rates in the same classroom.

Eleven of the twenty-five elementary schools had organized a program wherein children in certain grades could volunteer to participate in an interest group, chosen from a selected set of topics, which met one or more times a week within the normal school day.

Under flexible scheduling it was increasingly possible for teachers and staff and, in some cases, parents to have children moved from one teacher to another at the same grade level. This matter of matching teacher and pupil personalities was possibly somewhat more noticeable by parents than other aspects of intra-school flexibilities in course scheduling--including televised courses, which required a certain degree of flexibility in the scheduling of other courses.

A very few schools had some pupils in some classes arrive earlier than others while the latter left later in the school day. For forty-five minutes to one hour these teachers thus had a class about half the size of the normal class. Two of the schools had counselors, two had full-time and one had a half-time teacher aide, and the number of resource teachers was increased to the point of nineteen schools having one full-time while the remaining six each had one half-time.

At the secondary school level, team teaching had been introduced to a limited extent. At the junior high level that practice was used mainly in the social living program and in some but not all of the high school courses in English, mathematics, and physical education. Teacher aides became more widespread in the secondary than at the primary level with each junior and senior high school having from one to five aides employed during 1962-63. Among other accomplishments that were not initiated but facilitated by the Eugene Project was the employment of one or more full-time designated counselors in each of the two senior high schools and in three of the seven junior highs.

Television was increasingly stressed during the first year of the Eugene Project. For example, beyond the nine primary schools participating in a longitudinal, experimental study of the new mathematics (the School Mathematics Study Group program) at the fourth grade, twenty-three primary schools provided for sixth-graders to participate in that course over the state educational television channel. Programmed reading in English was introduced and various other innovations were made in the continual revision of up-dating of curricula materials.

The advanced placement program was expanded once again from its earlier modest beginnings. Approximately two-hundred-forty senior high school students were enrolled in college-level courses. Obviously this program was well known to some citizens and apparently approved strongly by most of those. However, they constituted but a small minority of probably well-educated parents, and the program as earlier established was not portrayed as initiated by the Eugene Project, although it reflected some of the spirit of that project.

In summary, then, the Eugene Project's accomplishments during its first year of operation were probably not as well known to parents and citizens generally as was the fact that the schools had embarked on such a Project. Moreover, it was noted in Chapter I that relatively few citizens or even parents reported knowing of the Eugene Project itself.[13] In assessing the meaning of the Eugene Project to those who knew something of it--however vaguely or specifically--it is important to remember that we are dealing with at least three possible frames of reference.

The first is that of the formulators and promulgators of the Eugene Project. Their objectives were not only multiple, but differed to some degree among themselves. The second is that of observers or analysts such as the researchers in this case. In deciding upon the meaning of the Eugene Project they can be concerned not only with the manifest purposes of such a program as intended by those of the formulator category but also with latent, unintended consequences and with meanings assigned by the third category: citizens involved primarily because they are subject to authoritative imperatives of the Project as it develops. This is not to say either that analysts are always single minded in their interpretations or that the Project itself did not become something other, or more, than originally intended as citizens themselves became involved in, and interpreters of, the Project.

The best assessment by the analysts of the citizens' frame of reference is that those of the latter who had some conception of the Eugene Project tended to view it primarily as a program affecting teachers: their facilities, techniques, and quality of performance. Data supporting that interpretation include responses of citizens to the question: What strikes you as the best features of the Eugene

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[13] We shall discuss below the matter of citizens knowing about new teaching techniques and such important parts of the Eugene Project as summer workshops for teachers even though they may not have known the name of that Project.

Project? That question was asked of everyone in the 1963 sample survey who first had said that they had heard of the Eugene Project. Over 80 per cent who mentioned anything in that context said something about teachers and the Project's impacts or objectives on teachers as one such feature. The second most frequently mentioned feature was its "experimental" approach, so identified by about 20 per cent of that sample.

This is not to say that these citizens were simple human beings without multiple, complex perceptual and conceptual structures just as school officials could not be thought of as single-purpose in their Eugene Project goals. Many of the citizens who saw teaching as the most salient feature of the Eugene Project obviously also conceived of impacts upon teaching as having consequences for students. The latter seem to have been more abstract and general than the former in the perceptions and conceptions of the citizens when thinking about the Eugene Project, just as the relatively dominant feature of the Project in the minds of both school officials and lay citizens seems to have been its innovating impacts on the kind and character of teaching in the Eugene public schools.

We shall have occasion later in this study to examine the question of the differential reaction to, and awareness of, the Eugene Project by men and women. Suffice it to say here that one can infer something of the self-conceived proper sex role and interest differentiation in school affairs as a function of acceptance or rejection of an invitation to citizens on the Lay Advisory Committee to serve on four special committees for the Eugene Project for the 1961-1962 school year. The Committee on the Educational Plan had sixteen women and ten men; the Committee on Legislation had six men and seven women; the Committee on Finance had three women and fourteen men; while the committee most likely to be in direct contact with the public, the Committee on Public Information, had fourteen women and three men. With this account of the Eugene Project, we turn to the intimately related, but analytically and empirically separable, natural experimental stimulus of "new teaching techniques."

Educational Modernization--New Teaching Techniques: Although the matter of new teaching techniques was a, if not the, central feature of the Eugene Project in the minds of those citizens who knew something about it, regardless of the views of school officials, there were clearly numerous citizens who had heard something of the introduction of one or another relatively new teaching technique both during and preceding the initiation of the Eugene Project. This was understandable since from 1959 to 1963 the local public school system had begun to step up its introduction of such techniques as teaching via educational television and programmed learning to keep abreast of educational innovations in the nation. Parents and other citizens may have heard of such techniques as being used in the Eugene schools, and others may have assumed that they were being used in Eugene as a result of reading about them in their newspapers and magazines and learning of them on (commercial) television as increasingly utilized in schools throughout the nation.

Because citizens could consider the introduction of new teaching techniques and practices to be the major change in Eugene's schools without knowing about the Eugene Project by name during the period from Time 1 to Time 3, 1959 to 1963, and because such a change or new emphasis could have affected citizen orientations toward their schools, we will examine the impact of that factor separately from the specified Eugene Project as a possible effect of changes in such citizen school orientations in that period. As we shall see shortly, new teaching techniques and practices were also being introduced in the Springfield schools during the same period, but with a difference. There seemed to be a much greater degree of public fanfare and publicity in Eugene than in Springfield in connection with such modernization innovations. This was partly due to the conscious decision to make this a major publicized program leading to the foundation-supported Eugene Project in the one city, and partly due to an apparent emphasis by school officials in the other city to stress the building program and acquiring citizen support therefor, especially with a voter turndown of a bond issue in Springfield six months after Time 1 (i.e., in October, 1960).

Setting High School Boundaries--A Controversial Decision: As 1963 approached, the need arose to decide the attendance area for the city's third high school, then under construction. The facts deemed relevant and true by all parties were as follows. The third high school was being constructed in a relatively sparsely populated area of the city because population forecasts when the decision to build the third high school in the north had been made, several years earlier, had indicated that that northern area would undergo swift growth in the future. There were some feelings that another area of town to the south had grown faster than the planners had expected, but it was felt that the very fact of the high school's being built would contribute by itself to the northern area's population growth and development.

The high school that was most crowded by 1963 was the one in the central-southern part of town while the other high school (to the northwest of the new one) had not yet reached its maximum planned enrollment. How overcrowded was the central-southern high school was a less consensual fact. Whether students who would have gone to that high school in the absence of the new high school would have to be transported to the second northwestern school or to the new one was answered by school officials with the promulgation of a plan to send children from a set of elementary school attendance areas ranging from west to east in the southern part of the city to the new high school.

With the announcement in the paper of the tentative new attendance areas and the plans for bussing students to the new high school the community erupted into controversy. A vital fact now needs to be noted. The sections of town in the southeastern part of the city included in the contingent to be sent to the new high school included some of the more affluent citizens of Eugene, the university area, and the country club. Those areas were traditionally among the strongest voting supporters of school budgets and bond issues in the city. Included in the selected southwestern sections of town were areas of traditional voting apathy or hostility to school and other money measures. Those areas contained some of the less affluent citizens of the community. Eugene was a city of relatively few slum or blighted residential areas and relatively few mansions. It contained only minute, almost unnoticeable Negro ghettoes and no foreign-speaking enclaves. As a typical Western city, particularly one that had gone through a population explosion with massive in-migration during the postwar years, it had many new housing subdivisions, shaded streets and lacked the kinds of glaring contrasts between rich and poor found in so many of the older Eastern cities. Yet there were differences in wealth, in occupational structure, and in social status in the community and these became one of the bases of conflict between the residents in the east and west sides of town in the matter of whose children should be transported to the new high school, relatively distant from both areas.

The easterners rose to do battle in a somewhat more organized and certainly more effective manner, as events were to show, than did the westerners. In public meetings held by the school officials to discuss the matter with citizens, in private meetings between officials and residents, and in neighborhood, grass-roots organization, the easterners insisted that their children be omitted from the proposed attendance area of the new high school. Westerners at first seemed to concentrate their fire more on the notion of transporting any students at all. It was soon seen that the easterners were not using the same defense so the westerners turned to an attack on the criteria used by school officials in boundary-setting decisions.

They argued strenuously, for example, that a principle of elementary school attendance areas ought to be followed, namely: that students from areas adjacent or contiguous to a school ought to go to that school. Although this was not previously the principle for determining high school boundaries because Eugene had first been a city with only one and then two high schools, its application would have meant that relatively more easterners than westerners would have been transported. Easterners argued that such a principle would mean that children from their section of town would have to be bussed eight miles, more or less, when they were already within walking distance of the existing central-southern high school.

The westerners quickly found themselves alone in the fight against the school officials when the latter announced that the easterners were to be dropped from the plan to transport students. Frustration and fury were twin elements in some western reactions and actions from that point through a period some four months later, the school election of May, 1963. That point marked the beginning of a new time period and the end of the earlier four-year Time 1 to Time 3 time period in our analytic scheme.

Prior to the final decision of the school board in February, various informal citizen meetings were held, particularly on the west side of town. Petitions were circulated and submitted to the school board, one of them, for example, having over 400 signatures from one elementary school area. Local P.T.A.s were more or less actively involved and people were to be found trying to influence their friends and neighbors. They urged people to contact others and to write letters to the newspaper and to school officials and board members to bring pressure to bear on the latter.

Several stories were circulated, particularly among westerners, one even making the front pages of the paper in a report on a school board meeting during this pre-February decision period, to the effect that "there are people who have felt that they could not write their name on a petition, or write a letter, or say something in a meeting because the wage earner in the family fears economic reprisal."[14] An attorney, noted for speaking out on controversial matters, was hired to write and argue a policy "brief" before the school board, but to no avail. He had argued in favor of sending only the easterners and none of the westerners to the new high school on the basis of the "adjacent" or "contiguous" areas principle.

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[14] Eugene Register-Guard, February 5, 1963, p. 1A.

While the three western areas that were to have their children bussed to the new high school and to the one in the northwest were regarded as temporary assignments, the school board hoped that the decision would end the controversy for at least the opening of the new school year. This it did not do as westerners continued to object. At public meetings to review the school budget they brought up the boundary policy as a matter that still should be re-opened and decided differently. In such public meetings a certain bitterness began to be expressed about the "easterners' control" over the school officials and board. Speakers felt that both officials and board members were publically discourteous to them and made their feelings known. Assertions were made that the school officials had succumbed to pressures brought by leading eastern civic leaders "behind closed doors." One past president of a western P.T.A. made it clear that her children had become sceptical of and disillusioned about democracy as they watched the school officials and board succumb to eastern influence behind closed doors in smoke-filled rooms.

A letter-to-the editor published in late February of 1963 articulated such themes and made it clear that at least three letter-writing citizens on the west side of town felt that class structure and class politics had dictated the boundary decision that the school officials and board repeatedly pronounced as arrived at through a consideration of technical criteria. Their letter said:

> In this business of moving students to Sheldon, what we were really up against was the country club set who didn't want their children moved. The administrators and the school board say there was no pressure or influence, but the fact remains that following a meeting with that group the administrators turned completely around on their policy for making boundary changes, and the end result was that this particular group of people was protected from being moved.
>
> Most of the people in our area are day laborers with one car. How is a man who works swing shift going to get his child to anything at Sheldon in the evening? How is a man who works

> graveyard shift or one who has to be on the job at 7:30 a.m. going to get his child to "early bird" classes?
>
> One girl, not quite 16, babysits six children after school. The oldest child is eight. She buys her own clothes and pays other expenses. If she can't get home by the time the mother has to leave for work she'll lose her job. The high school students say that a girl from the other side of town, whose parents were opposed having her moved, received a car for her sixteenth birthday.
>
> Of all the areas that were originally scheduled to be moved to Sheldon, including East Condon and Edison, Laurel Hill and Glenwood, who's going now? Just Glenwood, poor people--like us![15]

Thus, as the next natural experimental event to be described approached, there was not only still resentment of unknown proportions relative to the boundary decision, but resentment that took the form of openly active efforts to reverse the decisional outcome of February. Comments were heard to the effect that efforts would be made to pay back those responsible for the decision, including defeat of school board members at the polls, getting the superintendent dismissed, and--if necessary--defeating the school budget in the upcoming May election if such a drastic move proved the only way to make the school officials and board less responsive to one and not another section of the community.

Teachers' Salaries--Increases and Merit Pay: The next major event of possible relevance in affecting citizen attitudes and orientations toward their schools in Eugene was an issue that erupted over the principle of merit pay and some related matters of the proposed school budget. Throughout the budget hearings a lay member of the school budget committee, a man who was an accountant and who had status in the downtown business community, had raised a set of questions and objections to certain major budgetary decisions--especially those concerning teachers' pay.

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[15] Eugene Register-Guard, February 28, 1963, p. 10A.

His questions concerned the lack of detailed information as to what teachers were actually being paid, including information about the approximately one-third of the teaching staff that received some form of extra pay for services beyond their classroom teaching. This led him to do some information-gathering and analysis himself. He particularly questioned the need for a proposed $300 salary raise across-the-board in the salary scale on top of the annual increase scheduled for the teaching staff. His questions reached the citizenry not only through the relatively restricted informal group channels extending out from the budget committee, but also through a letter the accountant wrote at the beginning of April to some two hundred citizens, an important segment of the civic leadership. In that letter he invited them to attend the open budget hearings which the school board always conducted to review and decide upon the recommendations of the budget committee, and he sent them some of his own statistical analyses.

The day before the first budget hearing the daily paper announced in the lead editorial that at this year's budget hearing the accountant would ask some important questions, that he would offer comments on his own studies, and would do so "without attacking the budget en toto, and without commenting upon any part of it except on the basis of facts and considered judgment of the facts."[16] That editorial urged other citizens to attend that hearing "in the same temperate spirit" and indicated that "it may be necessary to warn against a stampede of blind reaction to the mere size of the proposed budget." Yet the burden of that lead editorial was to present the accountant's primary questions about teachers' salaries and about "merit pay"--the latter identified by the phrase "paying proved, experienced teachers more than they get now"--and to communicate his feeling that the district, like most others in the nation, was "being whipsawed into paying too much, too soon, to get and keep good teachers in what amounts to a sellers' market."[17]

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[16] Eugene Register-Guard, April 3, 1963, p. 6A.

Without directly saying so, the paper seemed to agree with the accountant's feeling that some form of merit pay system ought to be substituted for across-the-board increases in the salary scale, by commenting in a second editorial that same day (with the headline "Teachers' Pay") that "intelligent questions can, and should, be asked about the size of the increase being asked in the 1963-64 budget for Eugene schools." After presenting information about the previous year's increase in teachers' salaries and reporting on median salaries for teachers at elementary, junior high, and senior high school levels, "for 190 working days," the final paragraph said:

> Might it not be better in the long run for Eugene to offer ascending pay incentives for experienced teachers, relying upon this approach to bring real career people into the local school system? There would be no ultimate and little immediate relief of local tax burdens in this approach, but it might apply brakes where brakes now seem needed--and apply interest-bearing investment money where it truly belongs.[18]

At the board meeting itself, the budget was approved without change after several major kinds of criticisms were offered by citizens. These included the accountant's concern with the teachers' pay raise as a central element in continually increasing costs of the schools. At issue was also whether a starting salary of $4,800 as proposed, or $4,500 which was in effect, was necessary to attract teachers to Eugene's schools. Other criticisms voiced by citizens included possible "frills" in school buildings; increasing administrative and clerical costs (which was also put by members of the audience as excessively high salaries for the chief administrators); the need to limit the costs of schools and therefore of taxes; and the estimated budget increase of about 18 per cent, with a property tax increase of about 9 per cent, in view of the 8 per cent projected enrollment increase. Those westerners still concerned over the boundary issue also used the consideration of the budget as an opportunity to petition for a redress of their grievance.

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[17] *Ibid.*

[18] *Ibid.*

This, then, was the fiscal and budgetary backdrop immediately prior to the citizen re-interviews in April of 1963. The budget developed by a majority of the budget committee had not been cut back and the principle of merit pay had been resisted to that point in time, public discussion and newspaper notice had alerted those perceptive or interested that such matters as the size of the budget and level and amount of taxes, and the basis of paying teachers' salaries were at issue in Eugene. The board's position in standing firm on the budget committee's decisions was interpreted by a board member as reported in the newspaper as follows:

> "As I get the picture, through the years Eugene was behind in many respects up to about seven to ten years ago," Sikes said. Since then, the district has made a concerted effort to catch up and to become outstanding.[19]

In defending additional teacher aides, the same board member was reported as saying:

> "This is not deluxe service. This is the most efficient kind of service the board knows how to provide," he declared.[20]

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[19] Eugene Register-Guard, April 5, 1963, p. 2A.

[20] Ibid.

And the story's final paragraph read as follows:

> Citing the Eugene Project, a long-range, system-wide improvement program, Sikes said, "There is something happening in education in Eugene. This Eugene Project will do something that will for years affect the education of children here."

Five Candidates for One School Board Position: The campaign for the one school board position to be filled by the voters at the same time as they were to vote on the school budget (May 6, 1963) picked up in intensity as our interviews of citizens at Time 3 proceeded. The incumbent, a former teacher and then in life insurance, was running for re-election. Another candidate, a retail merchant, included in his campaign statement and talks proposals for year-round use of school buildings; for the development of new teaching techniques (such as team teaching, ungraded primary schools, etc.); and for, in effect, a merit pay system with the words: "We must prepare to pay the better teachers in our system a larger salary than those teachers working beside them who might not be as dedicated." A third candidate, a former university instructor, and director of a behavioral science research firm, included in a host of educational program suggestions an attack on policy-making by the school board which, he asserted, "has sometimes given way to expedience and pressure groups," thereby gaining some active westerner support over the boundary issue. A fourth candidate was a housewife with a distinguished record of active participation in school affairs. She offered herself as a willing worker in "some thrilling developments" in educational improvement. The fifth candidate, also in the insurance industry, urged the voters to defeat the up-coming school budget. He, too, was for merit pay and against the proposed teachers' salary increase. He also asserted that the school buildings and various budget items were not quite worth the moneys that had been and were being spent on them. Besides advocating a deemphasis of athletics he urged that "fundamentals" of education be increasingly stressed. As he put it,

> During the past twenty-five years there has been a marked deterioration in the basic skills of communication as well as in the fundamentals of math. Personnel managers, in industry, as well as educators at the college level, are well aware of these deficiencies.[21]

The information referred to in the preceding paragraphs about the candidates was reported in a school newsletter given to all school children as well as communicated in various other ways by these campaigners themselves.

It is well known that many voters not only act towards candidates on the basis of many factors that have nothing to do with the candidates themselves but react towards them on the basis of such things as candidates' personality rather than on the basis of policy preferences pronounced by the latter. Nor do we mean to suggest here that the voters were aware of the aforementioned policy orientations of the several candidates. We simply intend to indicate that such orientations were communicated by the school board candidates at that time, whether or not the messages were received by the citizens. It would seem that the environment in which citizens were orienting themselves towards the school was to some extent different than it would have been if--for example--there had not been a candidate running on a platform of a return to fundamentals of education and the defeat of the school budget.

These, then, were major events and issues noted as having occurred in Eugene from Time 1, 1959, to Time 3, April of 1963. They are "major" in the sense that in the judgment of the analysts they may have affected to some degree the orientations of citizens towards their schools over that period. The best way to assess the degree to which the introduction of new teaching techniques, particularly as this was known to the citizens as and through the Eugene Project, might have affected citizen school orientations variables is to compare our findings in the "natural experimental community" of Eugene with the "control community" of Springfield. To do so, we must note whether any of the aforementioned or other major natural experimental stimuli also existed in Springfield. We can then assess the extent and manner in which the latter can serve as a control community.

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[21] These and other policy statements of candidates were reported in the paper and in a school newsletter given to children to bring home.

Significant Stimuli in Springfield

Educational Modernization: The method of interviewing selected staff in the Springfield school system used open-ended questions asking for a description of the curriculum, innovations therein and in teaching and instructional practices and a set of questions about each aspect of the educational program that was identified as a component or feature of the Eugene Project. Answers to both kinds of questions led us to the following general conclusion. Our assessment was that by the time the Eugene Project started, and even by the end of its first year, at Time 3, Springfield had proceeded as far, if not further, in modernizing its curriculum and practices and in introducing new teaching techniques as had Eugene. There was one potentially controversial, important aspect in which that was not true and one major difference in the way the two school districts were modernizing that were potentially significant in the matter of natural events affecting citizen school orientations. Specifically, Springfield placed not as great an emphasis as Eugene on employing teachers to attend summer workshops and seminars to learn of the existence and use of some of the newer techniques and practices. Nor were the educational modernization innovations subject to the same kind of widespread publicity to the community-at-large and to the same kind of symbolization in Springfield as occurred in Eugene with the "Eugene Project."

To illustrate our general conclusion, we found that by the end of 1962 plans were made for four of the thirteen primary schools to have formally "non-graded" classes for the first three grades. There was serious consideration of extending that system throughout the six primary grades in those schools and introducing it on a system-wide basis for the first three grades. Flexible admission wherein children below the usual age of six were admitted if they attained certain scores on an examination was well-advanced. Several hundred youngsters entered the schools each year under that program. There was an "enrichment" program for several hundred gifted children and special instruction for handicapped and retarded children. At the same time the Springfield schools placed a relatively great stress on vocation, or "practical arts" training--an emphasis consistent with their having become well aware over the years that the bulk of their graduates did not go on to college. Flexible scheduling was planned for the senior high school level and for experimentation at the junior high level. A major tuition-free summer session was underway wherein about 10 per cent of all students went for six weeks to make up for failures during the year or for enrichment, i.e., horizontal rather than vertical acceleration in the language of educational administration.

Lay readers--primarily housewives--were being used at the high school level to assist teachers in grading papers and the like. Teacher aides, also housewives, were being used at the primary level for assisting in non-academic tasks. Language laboratories, the use of television, and the teaching of such languages as Russian and Chinese (both languages at the senior high school level but Russian in one junior high also), were also features of Springfield's educational program. Some beginning experimentation was underway with machines, programmed learning, and team teaching, but these were not stressed to the extent that they were in the Eugene Project.

In April, 1962, the local Springfield paper announced that the school system would receive more than $60,000 for participating in the "Oregon Program." This was a new Ford Foundation-supported program "of teacher training and curriculum improvement" for a four-year period costing the foundation about three and one-half million dollars.[22]

As portrayed in the Springfield paper, the Oregon Project was to be a state-wide venture wherein funds would go to twenty-two school districts and nine teacher training colleges and universities. Springfield was to work with the University of Oregon (in Eugene) in a program "designed to develop new teacher training methods as well as studies leading to curriculum improvements."[23]

As that paper's story put it:

> Among innovations to be studied are flexible scheduling plans, team teaching and the use of an "intern" program in training of prospective classroom teachers.[24]

The Eugene paper, in its front-page story, made the same announcement but with a much more pronounced headline. Eugeneans, and those Springfielders who read the Eugene paper, were to read that a Ford official announced that:

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[22] The Springfield News, April 5, 1962, p. 1A.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

> The significance of the Oregon program is that it will apply on an unprecedented state-wide level the principle that schools and universities must be partners in the improvement of teachers and teaching . . . . These patterns include an emphasis on general and liberal education, as distinguished from such professional education courses as teaching methods; mastery of the subject the teacher is to teach; emphasis on the disciplines basic to teaching--history, psychology and philosophy--and school internships and other direct, sustained classroom experience for prospective teachers.[25]

(Eugene's school system through its Eugene Project was to be coordinated with the Oregon Program and would serve "as a practical demonstration center for the school improvement changes" envisioned in the latter.)[26]

Thus, while focusing upon the development of new educational techniques and programs, the Oregon Program would concentrate also upon insuring "that the school setting is hospitable for teachers prepared along new patterns."[27] The new teaching generation would be trained in the educational techniques and programs to be brought into, and developed in, the teacher training institutions of the state. To insure their then having that hospitable school setting, current teaching and administrative staffs in Springfield and some twenty other school systems would be brought into more direct contact with such college and university re-organizations. Summer workshops, as in the Eugene Project, would be one of the primary channels for securing this contact. Team teaching, for example, would receive greater emphasis in Springfield than previously since that practice would be one stressed in the training of new teachers. Ultimately, if not immediately, the Oregon Program was envisaged as doing for many school districts in the state what the Eugene Project was presumably doing for the latter school system, and as doing it in the context of closer, more formal, and re-organized college-school institutional relationships.

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[25] Eugene Register-Guard, April 4, 1962, p. 1A.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

Springfield's participation in the Oregon Program insofar as the citizens of that city were concerned differed substantially from the situation of the Eugene Project during Time 1 to Time 3. First of all, the Eugene Project started almost two years before the Oregon Program was formally initiated. Secondly, the Eugene Project--as symbolized by its name--was the creation of that one school system whereas Springfield was but one of twenty-two school systems of the state participating in the Oregon Program and one of three school systems in a unit to work with the state university in the neighboring city of Eugene. The Eugene Project was under the authority of the board of directors of Eugene's school system; the Oregon Program was to be administered by the state department of education in the state capitol, some seventy miles from Springfield. Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, the Eugene Project was much more publicized than Springfield's participation in the Oregon Program, and for that longer period of time prior to Time 3.

For all these reasons, we consider that the major natural experimental variable distinguishing Eugene from Springfield was the occurence in the former of a concentrated, school administration-led effort to modernize the schools, particularly in teaching practices and orientations towards experimentation and innovations, that was highly publicized to the citizenry in a somewhat "nationalistic" manner. Springfield had a more diffuse, less administratively-dominant set of activities of school modernization. Communications to the citizens about those innovations relied less on the mass media and more on informal teacher to parents or formal P.T.A. kinds of channels--and in the context of a city which was cooperating with others in a state program rather than taking the lead in an independent, autonomous, self-sufficient manner. While neither school system was without substantially new teaching and institutional practices by Time 3, 1963, Eugene can be fairly treated as more or less representative of a small category of school systems embarked self-consciously and with public notice on a kind of crash-program of educational modernization innovations. Springfield is more or less representative of a larger category of school systems that had embarked on the road to a modernized educational system through a purposeful but less integrated, less public and more traditional program of up-dating and changing practices. A third category of school systems in the United States is the type represented neither by Eugene nor Springfield that comes to new teaching techniques and modernization slowly through the inevitable process of teachers with newer perspectives coming in, without the school administration or board making or endorsing programmatic efforts at innovation throughout their system.[28]

The Voters Reject a Bond Issue: Just prior to Time 1, in the spring of 1959, the voters of Springfield had approved a 1.6 million dollar bond issue for new school buildings. Six months later they turned down another building bond issue measure in the amount of one-half million dollars. Residents of the rural parts of the district in particular voted "no" and the turn-out was extraordinarily large: ordinarily twenty-some per cent of the eligible electorate voted in school elections but at that time approximately one-third of the voters cast ballots.

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[28] We felt it necessary to look at Junction City, Oakridge, and Portland by means of surveys at Time 3 (see Chapter 3) partly to have examples in the first two of that third type of system and partly to assess the generalizability of our Eugene-Springfield findings.

The proponents of the bond issue thought that a very heavy negative vote in a predominantly rural area that had received a major portion of the facilities from the last bond issue combined with rural reaction to their county tax statements, especially as they involved increased assessments on farm land, to defeat the bond issue.

A somewhat larger bond issue for the same purposes passed almost a year later. The 1960 defeat was generally regarded as a fluke, a result of special circumstances and not likely to be repeated again in the near future so long as good public relations were maintained with the citizenry.

Prior to that successful bond issue and about mid-way in the Time 1 to Time 3 period, Springfield's school superintendent--who was both a recognized figure in state educational circles and a person respected by substantial portions of the civic leadership--resigned to take a superintendency in California. He recommended that his assistant superintendent be considered, and the school board agreed that he was a good man for the job. In the spring of 1961, the assistant became Springfield school superintendent.

A New Superintendent--Continuities in Policy: With the selection by the school board of an administrator from inside the school system whose perspectives were known to the board, continuities in policy were expected. There was no reason to believe, for example, that the new superintendent would be any less prone to work closely with the board and civic leadership in ensuring board-administrative controls on such matters as consideration of teachers' salary demands in relation to competition from other school systems for teachers. Nor was there any reason to believe that top administrative approval of teaching innovations initiated by under-staff or teachers would be any more difficult to obtain.

Some sense of the existence and continuation of relatively quiet but innovative developments in teaching and curriculum modernization under the new superintendent can be derived from a newspaper story of a curriculum report from two social studies teachers to the Springfield school board:

> "We're ahead of the state curriculum. They'll have to catch up with us," Danielson said in predicting that seniors will soon be able to take a semester of economics and a semester of sociology.
>
> He pointed out that in his six years of teaching in District 19 (the Springfield school system) that coordination between the three junior high schools is much better now. This means when a student transfers from one school to another he doesn't miss one section or get needless repetition of a subject.
>
> Danielson also said there is more emphasis on the use of outside literature and that students are developing a very thorough knowledge of current events.[29]

Although following a man who was not flamboyant in his extremely active civic leadership-superintendency political influence roles, the new superintendent was perhaps even less of a public figure to the citizenry-at-large than was his predecessor. The latter had been brought into the position by a board dedicated to quality curricula and teaching staff improvements after a period of relative concentration in the school on physical construction, including major sports facilities. In a sense the new superintendent was regarded by some of the more influential people in school decision-making as likely to do a good job in shifting the emphasis slightly towards the school building program to cope with the burgeoning school population growth while maintaining the main currents of modern educational practice started by his predecessor. The difference in perspectives and style between Eugene's and Springfield's new superintendents is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that the emphasis in the former city on the academically able and on new teaching techniques took the form of the Eugene Project whereas the emphasis in the latter city on maintaining and developing further an adequate school system did not lead to a program of some national prominence.

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[29] Eugene Register-Guard, April 23, 1963, p. 13A.

Teachers' Salaries--Increases and Merit Pay: In both Springfield and Eugene the question of level and proper principles of compensation for teachers' salaries received public attention, but only in Eugene did it become a major issue. As early as January, 1963, the local newspaper in Springfield published an editorial with the caption "Where Will It End?"[30] This referred to the editor's view that "school teachers are on the way to becoming the favored economic class" because the three school systems in the immediate metropolitan area (Eugene, Springfield and a third in an outlying area of Eugene) were bidding against each other to attract the best of a short supply of new teachers "to an extent which is becoming almost reckless."[31]

Urging local school boards to work together instead of competitively bidding against each other, that editorial noted that when one board raised starting salaries, those of other systems had to go up along the line. Remarking on the action of the Springfield school budget committee in tentatively raising the starting salary from $4,450 to $5,000, after the third local school system had tentatively gone to $4,700, the editorial stated:

> School teachers deserve good salaries, and the good ones ought to earn more than those with average or below-average abilities,

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[30] Springfield News, January 17, 1963, p. 6B.

[31] Ibid.

> but it would seem that some solution must be found for the problem created for taxpayers by the efforts of one school board to outbid another.[32]

Thus was the matter of a merit pay principle mentioned which, however, did not become a public issue in the pre-election period in Springfield as it did in Eugene.

Even though Springfield's starting salary for teachers with a bachelor's degree was to go to $5,000 (compared to its increase to $4,800 in Eugene), an additional provision lessened the cost implications. That provision was for teachers to stay at their beginning salary level during their first three years.

The Springfield school budget itself did not become openly controversial, as did the Eugene budget, over teachers' pay or any other matters in the pre-election period of the spring of 1963. The proposed total budget in Springfield was to increase about 13 per cent for an estimated 5 per cent increase in enrollment, and the local tax levy was to increase about 10 per cent with the millage to remain as it was or rise only about 1 to 2 mills. (The comparable figures for Eugene were an estimated 8 per cent enrollment increase, a budget increase of about 18 per cent, a local tax levy increase of about 9 per cent with a comparable millage increase.) Springfield's assessed valuation was expected to rise along with income from the state, thereby keeping the 1962-63 tax rate at about 65.3 mills. In Eugene the 1962-63 tax rate was expected to go from 67.4 mills to about 73.7 mills. As indicated above, although taxes levied per pupil were approximately equal in Springfield and Eugene, assessed value per pupil was much lower in the more industrial working-class city of

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[32] *Ibid.*

Springfield than in the trading, white-collar community of Eugene. It is impossible to tell whether Springfielders compared their school tax situation with that of Eugene and, if so, whether they paid more attention to their actual millage figure, to their relative lack of affluence and greater financial effort, or to the stability or change in tax rates. In any event, the school budget controversy that developed in Eugene had not developed--at least publicly in the press or in meetings of the budget committee or school board hearings--in Springfield prior to Time 3.

Four Candidates for One School Board Position: Two of the four candidates for the school board's one vacancy stressed the need for the schools to focus upon the needs of the student who was not going on to college. In their published statements of reasons for seeking a board position one said that he wanted more vocational courses which would be both interesting and useful after graduation and the other pointed to a recent closure of a sawmill in the city as evidence that education for the placement of those not going on to college must be of prime concern. The latter candidate asserted that the present school board was doing an excellent job.

A third candidate was a civic leader who had served on the school budget committee for three years. He, too, emphasized the progress that had been made during the past few years in the educational system in Springfield and pledged to "continue the progressive attitude of the board."

The fourth candidate took a very different position in regard to her evaluation of the school board. A woman who had run unsuccessfully for the school board three previous times, that fourth candidate was noted for her sharp vocal and open criticisms of "irresponsible" and "irresponsive" public officials in municipal as well as other units of local government. She publicly asked, as a candidate for the school board position, why "there is such a dearth of friendliness and welcome extended to those who attended board meetings." She also asked why the budget contained so little information and why it was "presented in terms which many voters do not understand." Her well-known views on the need for economy in government were coupled with her appeal for an independent electorate in these terms:

> What is so frightening about someone criticizing school costs and policies (and why) anyone who expects to become a board member must first have the sanction of the school officials, the board and the PTAs.[33]

That candidate's biography, as reported in the newspaper, mentioned her church membership, her membership in the Springfield League of Women Voters and in a local American Legion Post, and her chairmanship of the Association of Constitutional Government, "an organization supporting the conservative political philosophy," as well as her position as secretary of Property Owners United, which opposed the Springfield urban renewal project.[34] She did not, however, campaign on a platform of defeating the school budget as did the candidate in Eugene who was in a sense her fiscally-conservative counterpart in the school board election in that city.

Summary Comparison of Natural Events in the Experimental and Control Communities of Eugene and Springfield, Respectively

The major naturally occurring events that seemed to be the most likely possible sources of significant impact on the school orientations and evaluations of citizens between 1959, the time of the already reported measurements of those orientations and evaluations, and 1963, the time at which a second set of measurements was made of the same citizen respondents, may be summarized as follows. Both school systems were subject to the nationally occurring events such as the post-Sputnik attention in the mass media to matters of educational modernization. Although there are variations in the extent to which citizens in these two communities were exposed to the national network of communications and thus to information and sentiments about such educational matters, we may assume that those community variations were relatively minor.[35] Changes in citizen school orientations due to such factors ought then to be relatively similar in both cities. Differences between the cities in the direction and degree of change in citizen school orientations theoretically ought to be a function of differences in locally occurring events of relevance.

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[33] Eugene Register Guard, May 2, 1963, p. 3B.

[34] Ibid.

If the school systems in the United States were for the most part similarly exposed to the 1959 to 1963 national educational modernization currents, they may still be classified and distinguished from each other on the basis of other events of theoretical relevance to differential changes in citizen school orientations between those Time 1 and Time 3 points. The Eugene and Springfield school systems differ from others in the nation in that they both engaged in the introduction of a set of innovations in teaching techniques during that period. Whether a more refined classification of other school systems would have these two as relatively advanced or "average" in the scope and degree of such innovations, and whether schools in the relatively little or no innovations in teaching techniques category would be fewer or larger than those in the Eugene-Springfield category is unknown. In estimating the generalizability of our findings the most that we can say is that both school systems seemed to be sufficiently comparable on that variable to be contrasted with other school systems that we have had occasion to observe as having considerably less-developed programs of such innovations.

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[35] Future studies of such variations might well be given a high priority by future investigators of the impact of educational innovations upon citizens.

For purposes of future comparative studies it is relevant to note that both school systems had school board elections wherein there was a candidate representing a fundamentalist or traditionalist, conservative orientation. Both cities were undergoing relatively swift increases in student populations and both were witnessing an increase in their assessed valuations. Eugene, compared to schools in the nation of similar size, was in the top quarter in net current expenditures; Springfield, a district of greater financial effort, was below the top quarter nationally in net current expenditures. Both had new school superintendents during this period, not as a result of the respective predecessors retiring, but as a consequence of both moving "up" to positions of somewhat greater importance or status in educational administration.

Insofar as possible differential shifts in citizen school orientations are concerned, Eugene and Springfield were comparatively different on the following variables of theoretical relevance for explaining such shifts. Eugene had a program of new teaching techniques that was well-publicized and packaged--symbolized by the name "the Eugene Project." That program was associated by its formulators with the foundation grant obtained to facilitate that educational modernization effort. The innovations centered to some extent around twin poles of adoption and adaption of new techniques and retraining and reorientation of teachers and the lower administrative staff with such necessarily costly devices as paid summer workshops. Around the school system of Eugene swirled a boundary controversy involving the school officials in charges of arbitrariness and "undemocratic" responsiveness to major geographical sections of the city. Finally, a proposed millage increase and the related matter of teachers' salaries and raises, including the matter of merit pay, gave to school politics in Eugene in the months preceding Time 3 a public character that appeared to be different from Springfield's less openly controversial school politics.

Our critical assessment that Springfield's program of educational modernization was less publicized and packaged with a less distinctive kind of label was based primarily on a comparative analysis of materials on that subject appearing in the school newspapers and in the literature distributed by the schools to parents and other citizens. Although that program started after the Eugene Project, and had less publicity in the Springfielders' local papers than the publicity given to the Eugene Project, it was possible that citizens were not as unaware of the Oregon Project as we imagined. To test this somewhat more directly, we interviewed at Time 3 a random sample of the citizens of Portland, the state's largest metropolis. Portland was one of the twenty-two school systems in the Oregon Project. Given the substantial amount of publicity devoted to the Oregon Project in Portland, we can assume that if citizens there were relatively unaware of it, then the citizens of Springfield were most unlikely to be much more aware of it--if, indeed, they were as aware of it--than citizens of Portland.

Only 6 per cent of the Portland sample indicated that they had heard, while 93 per cent said that they had not heard, of the Oregon

Project when asked at Time 3.[36] This compares to 29 per cent of the Eugene sample that had indicated they had heard, and 64 per cent saying that they had not heard, of the Eugene Project.

Our major concern, then, is to test the hypothesis that a major, well-publicized program of educational modernization innovations, such as the Eugene Project, relates to changes in citizen school orientations. Eugene will serve as the experimental community in this regard, and Springfield as the control community. The aforementioned major differences in their respective school politics prior to Time 3 must be considered as possible confounding stimuli, and the similarity of their actual innovations in teaching techniques may also have been operative in the relationship. The latter possibility led to our introducing a third community as an even stricter control community relative to its traditional teaching methods during the period from Time 1 to Time 3. The first order of business is to examine the patterns of change and stability in citizen school orientations in Eugene and Springfield from Time 1 to Time 3.

Change-Stability in Citizen School Orientations: Time 1 to Time 3

The most striking general impression derived from Table 2-4 is one of relatively little net change in citizen school orientations and evaluations in either community over the four-year period. Other

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[36] There were 340 respondents in the Portland sample. The specific question asked was: "Now we would like some information on your relation to a few specific matters that have come up . . . . the Oregon Project. Which statement best applies to you? Response alternatives: Haven't heard about it; Does not matter much to me; Interested, but haven't done much about it; Have talked about it with friends or acquaintances; Have taken an active part on one side or the other."

TABLE 2-4

Direction and Per Cent of Net Change in Citizen School Orientations: Time 1 to Time 3

	Direction and % of Net Change*	
	Eugene	Springfield
a. Rate the local public schools		
Very good	=	- 2
Good	+ 8	+ 6
Not very good	- 4	=
Don't know	- 3	- 4
No answer	- 0	=
b. Educational ideology		
Progressive (approving)	+ 2	- 1
Somewhat Progressive	+ 3	+ 4
Mixed	- 4	+ 5
Somewhat Traditional	- 9	+ 2
Traditional (critical)	+ 3	- 4
No answer	- 4	- 5
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism		
Trusting (do what they could)	- 1	+ 1
Cynical (pass the buck)	=	+ 2
Very cynical (ignore me)	+ 3	+ 4
Distant (don't know and no answer)	- 2	- 8
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness		
To citizens	- 4	- 4
To themselves	+ 13	+ 8
To influentials	- 7	+ 4
Don't know and no answer	- 3	- 9
e. Spending for Special Education		
Strongly approve	- 5	- 4
Approve	- 4	- 6
Undecided and don't care	+ 4	+ 4
Disapprove	+ 6	+ 4
Strongly disapprove	=	+ 1
Don't know or no answer	- 1	+ 1
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens		
Strongly approve	- 5	=
Approve	- 6	- 10
Undecided and don't care	+ 1	- 2
Disapprove	+ 14	+ 10
Strongly disapprove	- 2	+ 1
Don't know or no answer	- 1	+ 1

*The Ns in each cell are identical to those of the panel as reported in Table 2-2.

observations that might be made about these findings at this point would include the fact that in a number of cases there was a very slight decrease in the proportions of "don't know" or "no answer." To the extent that those responses reflect a psychological distance from or ignorance about the schools, the trend over this period of time was for that distance or ignorance to be lessened rather than maintained or increased. There was a shift in both cities in conception of school officials' responsiveness towards the image of official autonomy ("themselves"), particularly in Eugene, while there was a decrease in Eugeneans' feeling that officials were responsive primarily to influential citizens but a slight increase in that image in Springfield. Citizen ratings of their schools held firm in both cities, progressivism increased very slightly, school decision-maker trust remained constant while cynicism increased a very little bit as distance decreased. The only orientations showing a distinct negative shift were those in regard to citizen attitudes towards spending money and increasing taxes for special education and public kindergartens.

The questions that we shall be concerned with in the next chapter include the following. To what extent did the Eugene Project contribute to constancy or shifts in Eugeneans' orientations? Would, for example, there have been greater negative changes in citizen attitudes in Eugene than in Springfield, for whatever reasons, in the absence of the Eugene Project? Prior to the findings set forth in Table 2-4 we would have predicted that the Eugene Project contributed to a relatively greater increase in positive orientations towards and evaluations of the public schools there than occurred in Springfield between Time 1 to Time 3. Or was an alternative hypothesis correct, namely: did the Eugene Project affect citizen attitudes in a countervailing, contradictory, cancelling-out manner so that its net impact on citizen orientations was neutral or zero? We shall examine not only whether knowledge of, and attitudes towards, the Eugene Project affected citizen attitudes, but whether knowledge of, and attitudes towards new teaching techniques in both communities affected citizen orientations. We will ask whether those citizens with knowledge of, and attitudes--positive or negative--towards new teaching techniques changed more and in different directions than those who were unaware of and with different attitudes towards those innovations. The findings in Table 2-4 do not preclude major intra-city shifts in school orientations in both communities such that the minor net changes from Time 1 to Time 3 might have resulted from even major cancelling-out kinds of shifts on the part of different sets of citizens.

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CHAPTER III

THE EUGENE PROJECT AND CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS: EXPERIMENTAL FINDINGS ON IMPACTS OVER TIME

As a comparative backdrop for the analysis in this chapter, we shall first present findings regarding the state of citizen school orientations of non-panel members, i.e., Eugene and Springfield citizens interviewed for the first time in 1963, and for three other cities in Oregon at Time 3 to compare with those in Eugene and Springfield at that time. It is important to have some perspective as to whether the situations in our two research cities were atypical or similar to the orientations toward their schools of citizens in other communities. Some material also shall be presented comparing the conversation and concerns of citizens in the two primary research communities at Time 1 and Time 3.

The analysis in this chapter is centered on an effort to disconfirm a set of hypotheses or predictions about the impacts of the Eugene Project on the six selected measures of citizen school orientations. The nature of our quasi-experimental, comparative research requires that every conscientious effort be made to subject our understanding about the character of the relationship between educational modernization and citizen evaluations of their schools, cast in the form of expected chains of causes and effects, to the test of the empirical findings. It is frequently easy to find apparently real but actually spurious relationships because of an unwillingness to discard "common-sense" notions of cause and effect or a failure to adequately test them in a complex, natural web of interrelated events. There is no alternative to building theory that is viable, however, to the method adopted herein: no matter how unpleasant or contrary to our initial expectations, only those hypotheses that escape disconfirmation by every legitimate test shall survive to become building blocks in a theory of citizen reactions to educational modernization innovations.

Citizen School Orientations of Neighbors and Panelists

In both Eugene and Springfield sets of randomly selected neighbors of the original respondents were interviewed for the first time in 1963. This was done to permit analysis of and control over possible effects of multiple interviewing of the panelists and to have a more representative Time 3 sample than the panel permits, given the "mortality" in the panel sample and the absence in it of newcomers, i.e., of citizens resident in the community less than four years. In Table 3-1 the school orientations of the panelists and randomly selected neighbors as of Time 3 are presented for both cities. These findings indicate that the panelists and the neighbors were quite similar to each other in Eugene and in Springfield.

In regard to taxes for kindergartens, the Eugene neighbor sample was slightly more disapproving, less uncertain, and less strongly approving than were the panelists. We shall shortly focus upon that kindergarten orientation because of the kindergarten decision that was at issue in Eugene during Time 1 to 3.

TABLE 3-1

CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS OF PANELISTS AND NEIGHBORS AT TIME 3

	Time 3			
	Eugene		Springfield	
	Panel	Neighbors	Panel	Neighbors
a. Rating of the local public schools				
Very good	32%	26%	35%	34%
Good	58	60	54	59
Not very good	4	3	4	3
Don't know and no answer	5	11	6	3
	99%	100%	99%	99%
c. School decision-maker cynicism				
Trusting (do what they could)	59%	66%	63%	61%
Cynical (pass the buck)	20	17	18	25
Very cynical (ignore me)	9	6	9	5
Don't know and no answer	12	11	9	9
	100%	100%	99%	100%
f. Increasing taxes for public kindergartens				
Strongly approve	8%	3%	7%	8%
Approve	24	26	24	25
Undecided and don't care	20	15	18	19
Disapprove	34	43	37	35
Strongly disapprove	13	13	14	13
Don't know and no answer	1	--	--	--
	100%	100%	100%	100%

These neighbor-panelist comparisons also weigh against the possibility that the Time 1 to Time 3 pattern of slight decreases in "don't know" responses or in an inability to answer, i.e., distance from the schools, was a consequence of the panelists not including in their ranks citizens who had come to their communities in that four-year period. It would have been understandable if such newcomers, comprising almost 25 per cent of the samples in 1959, were less knowledgeable or opinionated about their schools--but apparently that was not the reason for this net decrease in distance for the panelists.

Citizen School Orientations in Five Cities: Time 3

We can compare the Time 3 states of five of the six citizen school orientations variables in Eugene and Springfield with those in three other Oregon cities at that time. Two of the other cities are in the same county as Eugene and Springfield. They are small towns, one a retail trading center for a rural farming hinterland (1960 population: approximately 1,600), and the other a lumbering community (1960 population: approximately 2,000). Samples of citizens were drawn from their school districts which encompassed outlying areas beyond each city's limit. The third sample was drawn from the Portland school district, which extended slightly beyond the city limits. The 1960 population of Portland, the city's largest metropolitan area, was 372,676. This compares with Eugene's 1960 population of 50,977 and Springfield's of 19,616.

The citizens of Eugene and Springfield rated their schools as highly if not more highly than did the citizens in the other three cities. In a small, special sample of the heaviest areas of Negro residence in Portland, the Negro citizens rated the public schools much less highly than did the White citizens. Only 8 per cent of the Negro sample rated the schools as "very good" and 23 per cent of that sample rated them as "not very good" compared to 35 and 7 per cent of the Portland White sample, respectively. Just as these Portland White and Negro findings indicate that citizen ratings of their schools may vary substantially by community and subcommunity, and, we think, as a reflection of some real variations in the values being produced by the schools for citizenries or categories of citizens, the figures in Oakridge compared to those of the other cities illustrate the same point.

A major controversy had erupted in Oakridge wherein most of the teachers were pitted against the superintendent on matters of school policies and administrative-teacher decision-making authority. Only about half the proportion of citizens in Oakridge compared to those of Eugene and Springfield rated their schools as "very good," while the proportion of Oakridge citizens rating their schools as "not very good" was almost double that of Eugeneans and Springfielders. However, it is revealing that dissatisfaction with the schools' policies or concern over the public superintendent-teachers controversy led fewer than 10% of the citizens to generalize that their public schools were not very good in Oakridge.

On school decision-maker cynicism, Eugene and Springfield resembled Junction City and Oakridge while being slightly more cynical than the residents of Portland (with Portland Negro citizens being most cynical). The conception of school officials' responsiveness was also relatively comparable in the five cities. So, too, were citizen attitudes toward spending more money for special education (with citizens in relatively rural Junction City most opposed and Negro citizens in Portland most approving). The comparative finding on the kindergarten-taxes orientation is extremely revealing.

Portland was the one city with publicly-supported kindergartens. The citizen sample there was the only one with a clear majority approving of "providing public kindergartens out of school tax monies." The city next most favorable to kindergartens was Oakridge. There 42 per cent of the citizen sample approved of "increasing taxes to provide public kindergartens," while 46 per cent disapproved. The disapprove to approve ratio in Junction City was similar to that in Eugene and Springfield.

Oakridge had considered kindergartens seriously for several years. In fact, one year earlier (1962) the voters had authorized kindergartens but then voted down a specific budget item in a school election. That the matter was still at issue, at least in the minds of Oakridge citizens, is attested to by these figures.

These findings, like those for the public school rating item, tend to confirm the validity of the items used to measure citizen assessments of their own school affairs. Events, or natural history, do seem to relate, to at least some degree, to current citizen orientations. The finding for Portland compared to the other cities suggests specifically that such events as the incurring of the costs of establishing an innovation such as public kindergartens can lead to a state of affairs where citizens support the use of school tax monies for them even though they might otherwise be (more) disposed to disapprove them. On other tax matters, Portlanders were not much more disposed to approve them than were Eugeneans or Springfielders as of 1963.

These findings are compatible with alternative dynamic models. First, it is conceivable that public kindergartens were always supported more by citizens of Portland than in the other communities (and such an historical differentiation among citizen attitudes may have been a factor explaining the establishment of kindergartens in that city rather than in the others). Second, it is also conceivable that the citizen attitudes historically were more or less similar in all cities but that the establishment and operation of kindergartens over time in Portland led to a situation of greater citizen approval there than in the other cities. The latter model allows for either earlier negative or uncertain, uncrystallized citizen attitudes toward kindergartens with Portland citizens developing increasingly positive attitudes toward them over time with the other cities remaining relatively stable in that regard (although to a lesser extent in Oakridge), or else an initial favorable citizen disposition in all of the communities with the maintenance of such favorable citizen attitudes in Portland as a shift occurred toward the negative in the other cities. The second alternative in the latter model might have occurred because of a possible shift over time to greater self-consciousness and concern over taxes and costs on the part of citizens throughout the state with less of a shift in Portland or in regard to the established kindergarten program there. Our own feeling is that the latter model, regardless of which of the two alternatives it allows for is correct, is the more adequate model.

In any event, whether the first or second model is the more valid, the fact of plausible inter-community differences in citizen orientations toward particular aspects of their schools and inter-community similarities in other regards has several consequences for our study. We can search for possible impacts on and differences among the school orientation attitudes of citizens of different communities as a consequence of particular major events such as the Eugene Project without having a reason to believe that such attitudes are so subjective and so much a projection of personality that real institutional differences simply are never found. At the same time, we have reason to believe that our findings on Eugene and Springfield are more generalizable than they might have been if citizen school orientations were more radically different in either or both cities than other communities in the state selected for making such comparisons.

In particular, we found that Eugene and Springfield as of Time 3 were not very different from two other small towns and the largest city of the state insofar as citizen school orientations were concerned. Differences seemed to be understandable in terms of the specific histories and events in the several communities. On the basis of those citizen school orientations variables we are safe in assessing the two research communities as not atypical of a larger set of communities.

Overall Stability and Internal Changes

Before testing hypotheses about changes in citizen school orientations in this comparative study we must have some idea of what changes may have taken place in the orientations of individual citizens even though relatively little net changes may have occurred for sets of citizens taken together. Within the limits of an initial distribution of attitudes or orientations, an appearance of little or no change may flow from massive but contradictory changes in a sample.[1] Thus, everyone who approved of kindergartens, for example, at one time may have switched to disapproval while those initially disapproving may have switched in the opposite direction--to approval. Citizens may be evenly divided on kindergartens at two points in time but such a complete switch in attitudes could have occurred in the interim. Such a hypothetical complete internal change with no net change could not happen, of course, to the extent that the sample initially deviated from a 50-50 split in attitudes.

If at one time 10 per cent of a population approved of kindergartens and 90 per cent disapproved, a complete change in everyone's attitudes would result at a second point in time in an opposite 90-10 approval to disapproval ratio with a great deal of net change. A stable 90-10 disapprove to approve ratio could, however, occur with no change in individual attitudes to a complete change on the part of the initial approvers and a change by 1 in 9 of the original disapprovers. This illustrates what we meant by the aforementioned qualification concerning the initial distribution of attitudes limiting overall, net changes in a sample or citizenry at the same time that such internal, individual changes may have been occurring.

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[1] For an excellent discussion of "turnover" see Seymour M. Lipset et al., "The Psychology of Voting: An Analysis of Political Behavior," in Handbook of Social Psychology ed. by Gardner Lindzey (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1954), Vol. II, pp. 1150-75.

To give some idea of the extent of the internal changes in both Eugene and Springfield, neither of which changed very much in a net fashion, we shall first present some findings that combine data from both cities since the degree of internal changes proved to be similar in the two.

There are no accepted criteria or conventional rules for assessing changes as "substantial," "large," "trivial," or "small." It has recently been found that attitudes of many, if not most, American citizens toward national policy questions such as federal aid to education, foreign economic and military aid programs, federal housing policies and the like, vary considerably for individuals in a manner that one would not expect if these stemmed from a more general posture, orientation, or ideology of liberalism-conservatism or of a pro-anti-federal government action character. Moreover, citizens have been found to be quite changeable over time in such policy perspectives. As Philip Converse, probably the most penetrating analyst of such "instability," has put it regarding a three-wave national panel of American citizens over a four-year period:

> Faced with the typical item of this kind (i.e., those mentioned above), only about 13 people out of 20 manage to locate themselves even on the same side of the controversy in successive interrogations, when 10 out of 20 could have done so by chance alone.[2]

There is some sparse evidence that for some policy matters there may be even less stability at the community level, at least under conditions of local decisional conflict.[3] There is also some suggestion that such change is related to the impacts of political influence rather than being simply random or chance fluctuations. That does not necessarily conflict with a model of community or national decision-making that has a minority of relatively sophisticated and comparatively stable policy-oriented people surrounded by large numbers of less concerned, less knowledgeable, more changeable and influenceable citizens. Nor does a model of a community with a minority of the former and a majority of the latter contradict findings that on given policy matters the climate of opinion may be either positive or negative rather than undecided or neutral at various points in time even though large numbers of citizens may have been changing in cancelling-out directions over time.

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[2] Philip Converse, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, November, 1962, p. 68.

There is very little, if any, evidence in the literature of educational, social, or political research to indicate whether such variables as our citizen school orientations are more or less stable over time in American or other communities. The effort made above to assess whether such orientations seemed to represent valid measurements was, in the present terms, an effort to assess whether changes in such orientations could be regarded as at all related to events in the community or be due simply to such processes as chance fluctuations on the part of citizens, that is, to successive accidental selections by unconcerned people of responses to questions that would put them in one rather than another category of each variable. That assessment will continue in the present chapter. But in the absence of comparative information, we are in a position of really not knowing whether the following Time 1 to Time 3 figures represent relatively small, moderate, or large degrees of change or stasis in citizen orientations.

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[3] Robert E. Agger, "Panel Studies of Comparative Community Political Decision-making: Dynamics of Urban Renewal," in K. Jennings and H. Zeigler (eds.), Essays in Electoral Behavior (New York: Prentice Hall).

The figures in the right-hand column of Table 3-2 indicate that if one excludes those in the combined Eugene-Springfield sample who changed from having an orientation of some kind at Time 1 to expressing ignorance (don't know) or an inability (or refusal) to answer at Time 3, and vice versa, the proportions of citizens whose attitudes change more or less substantially range from one-tenth to about one-third on these measures. Since those excluded citizens are part of the body politic, the middle column is probably a more relevant estimate of the proportions of "changers"--using those criteria of change. There we learn that about one-fifth to one half of the combined sample changes on these various orientations from Time 1 to Time 3.

The left-hand column presents the findings for changes of any kind, not just for "substantial" changes as in the center and right-hand columns. Thus, for example, a person moving from "very good" to "good" or vice versa, in his rating of schools would be considered a changer in the left-hand column but he would have to move from the "very good" or "good" category to "not very good," or vice versa, to have been considered a changer in the other two columns.

The left-hand column, reflecting the measure that we shall actually use in this chapter for analysis of factors relating to change, indicates that the proportions of changers range from 44 to

TABLE 3-2

CHANGES IN CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS VARIABLES OF THE COMBINED EUGENE AND SPRINGFIELD SAMPLE: TIME 1 TO TIME 3

	Entire sample: from original categories	Entire sample: from collapsed categories	Excluding "don't know" and no answers Time 1 or Time 3: from collapsed categories
a. Rating of the Schools Collapsed categories: 1) Very good and good 2) Not very good 3) Don't know or no answer	50%	21%	10%
b. Educational Ideology Collapsed scale categories: two point intervals plus don't know or no answer	58%	40%	30%
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism Collapsed categories: 1) Trusting 2) Cynical and very cynical 3) Distant	44%	42%	28%
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness Collapsed categories: 1) To citizens 2) To influentials and to themselves 3) Don't know or no answer	59%	48%	35%
e. Spending for Special Education Collapsed categories: two point intervals plus don't care, don't know or no answer	58%	21%	17%
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens Collapsed categories: two point intervals plus don't care, don't know or no answer	67%	32%	28%

59 per cent for the six items. That would seem to be a relatively large amount of change, at least as compared with the amounts suggested by the other two change measures. On the other hand, almost every movement between two adjacent categories becomes classified as change in orientations. It would seem that a number of such category changes would reflect only minor, if indeed any, differences in outlook. Instruments of the kind used are not completely reliable in the sense that they cannot be expected to produce exactly the same results from moment to moment, or day to day, for the same respondents. Even when "other things are equal" a certain amount of change in responses can be expected not as the result of change in outlook or evaluation, but as a consequence of the inefficiencies and inadequacies of the measuring instruments themselves.

Although we cannot say to what extent changers were actually changing their orientations as a consequence of significantly new estimates of or relationships to their schools or as a function of inadequate measures, we can proceed to a comparative analysis. There is little reason to expect that subgroups within communities or populations of different communities will change more or less than others because of the inadequacy of the measuring instruments. It is quite possible that poorly educated citizens who are relatively unaware of and distant from their schools, for example, may evidence a greater degree of change due to unreliability of the measuring instruments than their more sophisticated, involved companions in a community. However, change toward a "negative" orientation or evaluation on the part of the ignorant in one community but not in another, or change in opposite directions, are, when revealed by the use of identical measuring instruments, theoretically a consequence of processes other than measurement instability or unreliability. Although we may be exaggerating the degree of change in orientations by the use of the selected measures, their use does permit us to make some estimates of the holding power of some factors and the impacts of other factors in producing change within and between communities.

Stability and Change in Educational Orientations, Concerns, and Conversation: Eugene and Springfield, Time 1 to Time 3

Changes in citizen school orientations in Eugene and Springfield between Time 1 and Time 3 were remarkably similar both in extent and in kind (Table 3-3). Not only are the comparative degrees of stability or change of interest, but even more importantly, the differences and similarities in directions of change are of concern to us. The similarities in the extent of changes in orientations on the part of citizens of both communities are matched by similarities in the degree to which changes reflected increasingly positive, negative, or salient-distant conceptions. Citizens may not only have changed their attitudes in a positive or negative direction, but also they may have moved from a position of unawareness or ignorance (distance) to having a conception or evaluation of some kind and vice versa. With but a few minor exceptions, the various internal movements or changes in attitudes between Time 1 and Time 3 were very similar for the citizens of the two communities.

Compared to Springfielders, the citizens of Eugene were slightly more stable in their educational ideology; the Springfielders became relatively--although slightly--more traditional in

TABLE 3-3

STABILITY AND TYPE OF CHANGE IN CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS: EUGENE AND SPRINGFIELD, TIME 1 TO TIME 3

	Eugene (N=250)	Springfield (N=271)
a. Rating of the Schools		
Stable	51%	51%
Increasingly positive	21	17
Increasingly negative	18	19
Increasingly distant	3	5
Decreasingly distant	7	9
	100%	101%
b. Educational Ideology		
Stable	47%	39%
Increasingly progressive	23	24
Increasingly traditional	15	21
Increasingly opinionated	9	10
Decreasingly opinionated	5	5
	99%	99%
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism		
Stable	55%	57%
Increasingly trusting	14	11
Increasingly cynical	14	14
Increasingly distant	8	6
Decreasingly distant	10	13
	101%	101%
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness		
Stable	37%	44%
Increasingly toward citizens	23	15
Increasingly toward influentials	20	22
Increasingly distant	9	5
Decreasingly distant	12	14
	101%	100%
e. Spending for Special Education		
Stable	40%	44%
Increasingly supportive	22	19
Increasingly opposed	32	32
Increasingly distant	3	3
Decreasingly distant	3	3
	100%	101%
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens		
Stable	33%	33%
Increasingly supportive	23	26
Increasingly opposed	36	38
Increasingly distant	6	2
Decreasingly distant	2	1
	100%	100%

their ideological outlook. Springfielders were slightly more stable than Eugeneans in their conceptions of the responsiveness of school officials: the latter changed relatively more to a view of officials as responsive to citizens than did Springfield citizens.

There was not only the least stability for the citizens of both communities on both educational innovation fiscal items, but in the two cities the changers tended to move more in the direction of opposition than support on these measures. There was otherwise a general pattern of rather balanced shifts in both directions with roughly equal proportions of citizens becoming more positive and more negative in their school orientations. There was also a general pattern of increased saliency concerning, and decreased distance from, these various aspects of school affairs.

We have two other measures of the saliency of school matters in the minds and lives of citizens at Times 1 and 3 in both cities. The first consists of responses to a question asking the panelists to indicate "What, in your opinion, are the most important problems facing (Eugene, Springfield) at the present time?" The second consists of responses to a question on what matters were being discussed if citizens, in response to prior questions, had said that they had "seriously discussed public school matters during the past year" either often or once in a while with one or more of the following: family, friends, teachers, and school officials.

The listing of community problems perceived as most important in both communities reflects the aforementioned general increase in saliency or awareness of aspects of the community from Time 1 to

Time 3 (Table 3-4).[4] The specific changes over this four year period in the community concerns of citizens seem to be quite minor both in terms of the rank order of the problems mentioned and the percentage of citizens mentioning particular problems, with the following exceptions.

In both cities, particularly in Eugene, recreational facilities loomed less large as a center of attention for citizens. The question itself seems to reflect the extent to which various decisional questions or policy matters were receiving public attention in the press and in other media of communications.[5] Recreation, particularly the establishment of a metropolitan park near the two cities, had been given a great deal of coverage during the period prior to the interviews at Time 1. It had since receded considerably as a topic of media concern and, apparently, of public concern.

In Eugene various matters of city growth were perceived as community problems by an additional small, but numerically not insignificant, number of citizens as it continued to increase in population size and area. In Springfield, the major changes in citizen concerns were in connection with three other matters. Urban renewal and, to a much lesser extent, public housing had been hotly contested public issues in 1959, but had become less overtly

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[4] The decreases in the proportions mentioning no problem were not due to the absence of newcomers in the panels. A comparison of the responses of samples of newcomers and those of the panelists indicate that there is a larger number of matters identified as community problems by panelists than newcomers, but no substantial differences in the proportions naming nothing at all.

[5] A minor variation of that question was used and discussed in Robert E. Agger et. al., The Rulers and the Ruled (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1964), pp. 303-08.

TABLE 3-4

RANKINGS AND CHANGES IN CITIZEN COMMUNITY CONCERNS-- PROBLEMS PERCEIVED AS MOST IMPORTANT: EUGENE AND SPRINGFIELD, TIME 1-3

	Rank order		Percentage	Rank order		Percentage
	T1	T3	Change	T1	T3	Change
Traffic and Street Conditions	1	1	-1%	3	2	-3%
Parking	2	2	+2%	11	9	+3%
Educational Matters	3	4	+3%	6	4	+7%
Recreation	4	12	-12%	8	11	-4%
City Growth (including annexations)	5	3	+8%	4	3	+4%
Public Works (sewage, drainage, garbage collection, etc.)	6	6.5	-1%	2	1	-4%
Taxes	7	6.5	+2%	10	5	+10%
Economic Conditions (industrial growth, jobs, etc.)	8	5	+2%	7	6	-2%
Local Government (operations and organization)	9.5	8.5	+1%	9	8	+3%
Urban Renewal	9.5	11	-1%	1	7	-21%
Public Housing	11	—	-2%	5	13	-9%
Housing (conditions, availability, etc.)	12.5	10	+3%	—	10	+3%
Juvenile Delinquency	12.5	8.5	-10%	—	12	+2%
Miscellaneous Matters	—	—	-8%	—	—	-3%
Per Cent Mentioning Nothing	16%	7%		20%	13%	

controversial by 1963.[6] The decrease in citizen concerns over those matters in that city was partially made up by an increase in the saliency of tax concerns.

The public schools, largely but not exclusively in their facilities and buildings aspects, did not shift very much in either city in relation to their prominence as citizen concerns. From one perspective, the fact that they were ranked below traffic and parking as citizen concerns in Eugene at both Time 1 and Time 3, and below such matters as traffic and public works in Springfield at both points in time may be a discouraging commentary on citizen values. From another perspective, such discouragement would not be warranted. The question deals not with rankings of how important various aspects of community life are to citizens, but with perceived community problems. And it is worth noting that educational matters were regarded at both points in time in both cities as more important community problems than recreation, tax trends and levels, and economic conditions--including industrial development and employment needs.

In any event, what interests us here is the fact that educational problems were perceived as more important than some other significant aspects of community affairs at Times 1 and 3 in Eugene and Springfield, and that education's relative rankings among various perceived problems of community life did not change significantly over this four-year span. In both communities there was evident a small percentage increase in the total proportion of citizens viewing educational matters as a salient concern, a 3 per cent increase in Eugene, and a 7 per cent increase in Springfield. (In the latter city that did constitute an almost 100 per cent increase by Time 3--from 8 to 15 per cent--in the proportion of citizens indicating such a concern with the schools at Time 1).

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[6] Agger, "Panel Studies of Comparative Community Political Decision-making: Dynamics of Urban Renewal," in Essays in Electoral Behavior, op. cit.

In neither city did this means of tapping citizen concerns indicate that education had become the number one perceived problem by Time 3 (as, for example, urban renewal had been so perceived at Time 1 in Springfield) or that the citizens of either city had come to regard the schools as a matter of no salient concern whatsoever in their mental maps of important community problems. Just as change had been moderate in citizen orientations toward the schools as measured by the specific questions pertaining thereto, so, too, did this measure of citizen concern with the schools reveal a fair degree of at least overall, net stability from Time 1 to Time 3.

The shifts in the frequencies with which such problems as recreational facilities in Eugene and urban renewal and public housing in Springfield were mentioned as among the most important problems in the community contribute to our sense that such questions are more or less valid indicators of the predominant, most salient citizen concerns--whether of a spectator or participant nature. We thus have more confidence in the evaluation that the public schools had become neither a burning issue nor out of sight and mind in either community from Time 1 to Time 3.

The second set of questions referred to above measures more directly the concerns with their schools of citizens that partook more of an active, participant character than of a bystander, spectator form. At Time 1, the citizens of Eugene discussed school matters within their families, with friends, and with teachers more than did the citizens of Springfield (Table 3-5). It was only with school officials that Springfielders discussed school affairs as much as did Eugeneans. By Time 3 the situation had changed considerably primarily due to an increase in discussion in Springfield. Only with school officials had Springfielders decreased their discussions of school affairs.[7]

There is a remarkable net stability in the subjects of citizen discussion in the two cities at the two points in time, with one startling exception: a dramatic increase in the proportions of citizens in both cities discussing teaching techniques. Other exceptions

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[7] A panel study is concerned primarily with behavioral and attitudinal changes of the more permanent portion of the population. Analysis of impacts of natural events cannot concern itself with citizens only subject to the post-event environment. However, a post-event assessment of community states of citizen behavior and attitudes ought to include those of newcomers in assessing political implications. If different from longer-term residents, newcomer behavior and attitudes may change some of the political implications inferred from the findings on a panel. To give an over-simple illustration, assuming the subjects of citizen school discussion were known to school decision-makers, they might have reacted differently in Eugene if they thought that the newcomers were discussing teaching techniques relatively more than oldtimers, while oldtimers were discussing taxes and finances more than newcomers. By using newcomers from a wave of interviews first taken in 1963, we found newcomers actually discussing both taxes and teaching techniques less than oldtimers. There was a slight tendency for newcomers in both Eugene and Springfield to be less participant in school affairs than were oldtimers, but otherwise there were no consistent differences in the substance of their respective conversation and concerns. That analysis also revealed that whatever effects the 1959 interview may have had in sensitizing respondents to teaching techniques, a so-called panel effect which might have caused some of the apparent or real increase in teaching techniques being such a central conversational concern by 1963, they were minimal compared to the total increase in that regard.

TABLE 3-5

EXTENT OF, AND CHANGES IN, RATES OF CITIZEN CONVERSATION ABOUT PUBLIC SCHOOL MATTERS: EUGENE AND SPRINGFIELD, TIME 1-3

Extent of Discussion of Public School Matters During the Past Years	Often	Once in a while	Not at all	No answer	Totals	
					%	N
with Family:						
Eugene - Time 1	34%	40%	23%	3%	100%	246
Eugene - Time 3	41	35	22	2	100	246
Springfield - Time 1	24	46	28	2	100	275
Springfield - Time 3	42	35	23	0	100	275
with Friends:						
Eugene - Time 1	31	43	24	1	99	246
Eugene - Time 3	33	47	19	1	100	246
Springfield - Time 1	19	47	32	1	99	275
Springfield - Time 3	30	43	28	0	101	275
with Teachers:						
Eugene - Time 1	19	28	51	2	100	246
Eugene - Time 3	12	27	59	2	100	246
Springfield - Time 1	9	11	78	2	100	275
Springfield - Time 3	12	24	64	0	100	275
with School Officials:						
Eugene - Time 1	13	16	68	3	100	246
Eugene - Time 3	12	15	71	2	100	246
Springfield - Time 1	13	20	65	2	100	275
Springfield - Time 3	8	10	80	2	100	275

include an increase in the proportions of the Eugene citizenry discussing the matters of boundaries and of school taxes, and an increase in the proportion of the Springfield citizenry discussing the latter (Table 3-6). Originally the ninth-ranked subject of school discussion in 1959 (mentioned by less than 10 per cent of both panels), the matter of teaching techniques moved to the top of the list of conversational concerns--being discussed by one-quarter of the panelists in each city in 1963.

Thus, the increased rate of discussion of school affairs by Springfielders with members of their families, friends, and teachers was reflected in a relatively greater stress on the matter of the costs and tax implications of education, but that stress was in the context of educational innovations, i.e., teaching techniques. Increased conversation about new teaching techniques in fact far outweighed the increased conversation about taxes: for every person newly talking about school finances, four people had begun to talk about some aspect of teaching techniques. In Eugene there were smaller shifts on those items, but those, too, contribute to a sense that at least some citizens, to some extent, are attuned and participate in a selective, discriminatory manner toward their schools. The arrival of school boundaries into the fifth rank of conversational concerns in Eugene is further evidence of the sensitivity of at least a portion of the citizenry to their schools and to at least some of the naturally occurring events such as the boundary issue described in the previous chapter. These findings also add to the sense of confidence that the citizen school orientations variables of central concern here are neither inherently constant nor subject only to

TABLE 3-6

EXTENT OF, AND CHANGES IN, CONTENT OF CITIZEN CONVERSATION ABOUT PUBLIC SCHOOL MATTERS: EUGENE AND SPRINGFIELD, TIME 1-3

Subject of discussion, Proportion of panel discussing:	Eugene (N=246)	Springfield (N=275)
Facilities, buildings, etc. --		
Time 1	20%	22%
Time 3	19	24
Curriculum --		
Time 1	17%	14%
Time 3	17	15
Teaching techniques --		
Time 1	3%	1%
Time 3	24	26
Taxes --		
Time 1	10%	13%
Time 3	19	18
Teachers' salaries --		
Time 1	9%	9%
Time 3	9	8
Disciplinary matters --		
Time 1	8%	6%
Time 3	7	4
Children-grades, etc. --		
Time 1	4%	7%
Time 3	6	8
Special education --		
Time 1	5%	3%
Time 3	3	4
Kindergartens --		
Time 1	2%	1%
Time 3	1	1
American education-nationally--		
Time 1	3%	1%
Time 3	1	1
Miscellaneous matters --		
Time 1	27%	23%
Time 3	26	21
Boundaries --		
Time 1	*	*
Time 3	10	1

* Less than one per cent.

random change due to a constancy in citizen concerns and conversation that remains unaffected by naturally occurring events of educational import (whether in the community or nationally).

Because of the finding that the school boundary issue had become a subject not only of topical concern in the newspapers, but of conversational concern to a segment of the citizens of Eugene, we looked again at the educational matters reported as among the most important problems in the community. An analysis of the specific items mentioned by the 17 per cent of the sample reporting an educational matter in that context (Table 3-4) revealed that the boundary issue was not the problem mentioned by most of those citizens. The topic of school buildings and facilities, usually in a perspective of a perceived need for additional construction in the light of an increasing school population, was the predominant problem mentioned. The matter of the school boundary issue or policies was mentioned by only a handful of citizens as among the most important community problem.

Finally, it is revealing to note that although there was some increased attention paid to the matter of merit pay for teachers, a natural stimulus described in the previous chapter as a subject of attention and controversy especially in Eugene's budget-making process as well as in the campaigns of school board candidates, it was a conversational concern for relatively few citizens. There was no overall increase in the extent to which teachers' salaries served as a subject of discussion in Eugene and an actual decrease in the extent of its being a conversational concern in Springfield between Times 1 and 3 (Table 3-6).

The changes in the content of citizen conversation in the two cities may be further appreciated from an analysis of changes that occurred in the kinds of teaching techniques discussed at Times 1 and 3. For example, in Eugene the proportion mentioning some aspect of teaching exceptional or bright children increased from 5 to 12 per cent of those discussing teaching techniques. Similarly, in Springfield non-graded classes went from zero to 11 per cent as a subject mentioned specifically by those discussing teaching techniques. General matters of the curriculum decreased in both communities from one point in time to the other as items mentioned in connection with teaching methods and techniques. So, too, did the quality of teachers. General comments about techniques and methods increased, however, from 10 and 9 per cent of the discussants of teaching techniques at Time 1 in Eugene and Springfield, respectively, to 31 and 25 per cent of those citizens in the two cities, respectively, by Time 3.

We may summarize some of the foregoing conclusions by presenting them in the form of findings that bear on a set of specified hypotheses, the form of presentation to be used also in the next section on causes of change and stability in educational orientations.

The hypotheses derive basically from the following assumptions and in the light of knowledge of the natural stimuli in the two communities between Times 1 and 3 as reported in the preceding chapter. Our first initial assumption was that the Eugene Project would have the effect of producing a citizenry with more favorable orientations toward, or evaluations of, their schools than would be the case in Springfield, the city without such a publicized project. Cast in the form of a hypothesis or prediction, that can be stated as follows:

> H_1: There would be more net positive change in citizen school orientations in Eugene than in Springfield from Time 1 to Time 3.

Underlying that expectation was the following reasoning. Even though Springfield did during the Time 1 to 3 period introduce educational innovations into their school system of the kind embodied in the Eugene Project, and even though Springfield became part of the Oregon Project—which resembled in some of its aspects the Eugene Project—we assumed that the comparatively well-publicized (via school newsletters, reports, formal meetings, a citizens' advisory committee, the mass media, etc.) foundation-supported local community project would have been most likely to engage the attention, imagination, and popular support of citizens in the one rather than the other community. Clearly, the findings reported in the previous chapter do not support that hypothesis (Table 2-4, p. 79.)

On the basis of comparable assumptions and reasoning, we had originally predicted that the stability of citizen school orientations would be less in Eugene than in Springfield regardless of whether or not Eugeneans experienced a greater net positive change than Springfielders. Given the finding of comparable net changes in the two cities, that prediction could take the form of the following hypothesis:

> H_2: The comparable net changes in citizen school orientations in the two communities were due to a comparatively greater degree of countervailing, canceling-out shifts of orientations of Eugeneans than of Springfielders, the latter having comparatively more stable orientations than the former.

The findings reported in Table 3-3 contradict that hypothesis.

A companion hypothesis concerned unawareness, ignorance, or distance[8] of citizens from their schools as reflected in a failure to respond to the questions about their schools. That hypothesis originally read:

> H_3: There would be a comparatively greater decrease in distance from their public schools on the part of Eugeneans than on the part of Springfielders.

In the light of the results of testing H_1, supra, a variation on Hypothesis 3 was formulated:

> H_{3A}: The comparable net changes in distance from their schools by citizens in the two communities were due to a comparatively greater degree of countervailing, canceling-out shifts towards increasing and decreasing distance in Eugene compared to a comparatively greater degree of stability of distance in Springfield.

The second form of that hypothesis was no more supported by the data than the first form (Table 3-6; Table 2-4).

The reasoning underlying both H_2 and H_3 was that the Eugene Project, if it did not invoke primarily favorable responses from citizens, would be likely to generate opposite cross-currents of feelings both positive and negative. We also supposed that a program of educational innovations, both of a curriculum and teaching technique character, would tend to cause citizens to become more aware of and reflect upon problems of educational affairs. Such reasoning also led to the following prediction concerning citizen community concerns:

> H_4: Educational matters would become of more concern, relative to other community affairs, and to relatively more citizens in Eugene than in Springfield.

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[8] The bulk of the responses classified as "distant" were due to "don't know" responses while the respondents not answering rarely refused to reveal their sentiments.

The findings do not support either part of the hypothesis (Table 3-4).

The centrality of education as a concern as reflected in its ranking compared to other matters depends not only upon possible changes of school orientations but also upon possible changes in concerns with other matters. As controversial issues are resolved one might expect an increase in concern with a particular matter relative to other community affairs that included such issues. This was the case with the increase in the rank of educational matters as a concern in Springfield with the subsidence of urban renewal and public housing as issues and projects. Eugeneans, however, were paying relatively more attention to matters of city growth by Time 3 than to educational matters, which was an unexpected reversal of the situation at Time 1. In Springfield, the relatively greater concern by citizens at Time 1 with problems of urban growth than with educational matters was actually less at Time 3. The crucial percentage figures for the hypothesis, however, are those that revealed the greater degree of concern with educational matters in Springfield than in Eugene (Table 3-4). The percentage difference is extremely small but the important point is that, contrary to H_4, the proportion of Eugeneans perceiving educational matters as important problems in the community did not increase more than in Springfield.

The next hypothesis was originally:

H_5: There would be a greater increase in discussion of school affairs in Eugene than in Springfield.

The findings reported in Table 3-5 contradict that prediction.

Finally, the findings on the content of citizen conversation about public school affairs at Time 1 and Time 3 (Table 3-6) did not support the following hypothesis:

H_6: There would be a greater increase in discussion of teaching techniques in Eugene than in Springfield.

A related hypothesis, based on the notion that the Eugene Project would tend to increase support for the schools, was as follows:

H_7: There would be a greater decrease or a lesser increase in the extent to which school taxes would be a conversational concern to Eugeneans than to Springfielders.

That expectation was also unconfirmed (Table 3-6).

It would appear from the consistently unsupported tests of the foregoing hypotheses that the Eugene Project had not made the impacts on citizens of that city which had been expected by both school officials and the analysts. Instead, Springfielders were the ones who showed the greatest gains in educational conversations and concerns, particularly in reference to teaching techniques, and who proved to be no more (or less) stable in their school orientations or any less favorable in their evaluations than Eugeneans. In the next section of this chapter we are able to test even more directly hypotheses about the possible role of the Eugene Project and the programs of new teaching techniques in both cities as they may have affected citizen school orientations.

Of particular concern will be an examination of whether those citizens who reported some awareness of the Eugene Project in the one city and of new teaching techniques in both cities were different from citizens without such awareness. Of equal concern will be an examination of the possibility that attitudes towards the Eugene Project and new teaching techniques were related to the discovered stability of, or changes in, citizen school orientations. We implied above that one of our expectations was that the Eugene Project would cause some changes in citizen attitudes by having a favorable impact on some whose orientations had been less favorable and an unfavorable impact on some whose orientations had been favorable. Such a pattern, we thought, would have produced canceling-out changes in orientations. An alternative possibility is that the Eugene Project tended to reinforce the favorable, supportive orientations of those already favorable and supportive with an opposite effect on the originally unfavorable or non-supportive. Also, it is possible that the similarities discovered in the patterns of stability and change in citizen school orientations in Eugene and Springfield were a consequence of some Eugeneans changing more in a negative direction, for whatever reasons, than Springfielders in general while those Eugeneans aware and/or approving of the Eugene Project remained more stable or became more positive in a compensatory manner leading to no overall differences between the two citizenries. Such possibilities and others are tested directly in the following section.

Impact of the Eugene Kindergarten Election on Citizen Attitudes

As we already indicated, attitudes toward increasing taxes to provide for public kindergartens changed for the worse in both Eugene and Springfield between Time 1 and Time 3 (Chapter 2, Table 2-4). Was the anti-kindergarten campaign and overwhelming kindergarten defeat in the school election of 1960 responsible to any extent for the increasingly negative citizen attitudes toward that item in Eugene?

An earlier published report revealed that between Time 1 and Time 2 "there was a surprising degree of attitude stability in regard to kindergartens."[9] Specifically,

> Of the . . . people who had earlier approved of kindergartens, . . . 80 per cent reported that they had or would have voted for kindergartens. Of the . . . people who had not approved of kindergartens, 67 per cent voted or would have voted against kindergartens.[10] (Emphasis added.)

What that analysis revealed was that the smashing citizen rejection of the kindergarten measure was due to differential voter activation or turn-out such that the citizens opposed to the measure cast ballots while the citizens who favored it did not.

What that report did not specifically mention was that even though the anti-kindergarten forces were strongly mobilized, the citizens' attitudes tended to shift to some degree and in the direction of increased approval of increasing taxes to provide public kindergartens. As of Time 1 equal proportions of the Time 1-2 panel were approving and disapproving of the measure with one of every six citizens undecided or not caring (Table 3-7). By Time 2, the approving citizens had increased from 39 to 50 per cent and those opposed had reached only 43 per cent. The undecided and unconcerned had moved on balance into the camp of the approvers, albeit not very intense approvers, who failed to translate their approval into active voting support.

We thus can dispose of the particular natural stimulus of the Eugene kindergarten election as a direct cause of the decrease in

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[9] Robert E. Agger, "The Politics of Local Education: A Comparative Study of Community Decision-making," in Donald E. Tope (ed.) A Forward Look--The Preparation of School Administrators 1970 (University of Oregon: Bureau of Educational Research, 1960), Chapter VIII.

[10] *Ibid.*

TABLE 3-7

ATTITUDES TOWARD INCREASING TAXES FOR PUBLIC KINDERGARTENS AT TIME 1 (1959) AND TIME 2 (1960)

		Eugene Panel
Time 1:		
Approve		39%
Undecided		17
Disapprove		39
Don't know and no answer		5
Totals:	%	100%
	N	220
Time 2:		
In favor		50%
Opposed		43
Don't know and no answer		6
Totals:	%	99%
	N	220

citizen support for increasing taxes to provide public kindergartens. We turn our attention now to the central matters of the Eugene Project and new teaching techniques.

Relationships Between the Eugene Project and Citizen School Orientations Over Time

As the months and weeks unfolded prior to the Time 3 measurements of citizen school orientations, there was increasing reason to suspect that the Eugene Project would have less than a universal appeal to the citizens, or less than it was originally thought to have had. In meetings on the school budget an occasional citizen was heard to articulate publicly his disapproval of that project and of "excessive, constant experimentation" with new, and not inexpensive teaching techniques. The campaign for the school board brought to the attention of some, although how many was impossible to estimate from participant observation alone, that the "three R's" were conceived to be increasingly endangered by "new-fangled" teaching methods. In short, when it was found that the impact upon Eugeneans' school orientations of the Eugene Project apparently was not what we originally predicted, an hypothesis that it had had substantial negative as well as positive impacts was more seriously entertained.

By classifying the citizens of Eugene into categories of those who said that they approved, disapproved, were undecided (or did not know how they felt) about the Eugene Project, we are able to assess the distribution of such attitudes. The finding demonstrates clearly that the second thoughts on citizen reactions to the Eugene Project were not warranted (Table 3-8). Given the minority awareness of the

TABLE 3-8

EUGENE CITIZEN ATTITUDES TOWARD AND AWARENESS OF THE EUGENE PROJECT

Strongly Approve	Approve	Disapprove	Strongly Disapprove	Undecided	Don't Care	Don't Know	No Answer	Totals %	Totals N
6%	19	--	2	33	4	30	6	100	250
Approve		Disapprove		Opinionless, neutral or conflicted					
25%		2		73				100	250
Opinionated									

Active Part	Discussed	Spectator Interest	Does Not Matter	Have Not Heard of it	Don't Know	No Answer	Totals %	Totals N
5%	14	12	4	62	2	--	99	250
Aware				Unaware				
35%				64			99	250

Eugene Project as reported in Chapter I (the nearly identical figures for the panel members are reported in Table 3-8), it is not surprising to find that less than one-third of the Eugene panel reported any attitude at all toward that Project.

To be sure, it is conceivable that those who implied an awareness by indicating that the Eugene Project did not matter to them as well as those who indicated a spectator or more active concern in the matter were actually conflicted, neutral, or opinionless, whereas--although a less likely state of affairs--the citizens who were unaware of the Eugene Project were the ones expressing opinions. At least such a real-world, if not ideal, situation is sufficiently possible to some degree to warrant its direct examination. The fact that 3 per cent who said that they had not heard of the Eugene Project were among the opinionated demonstrates that such a possibility is not entirely hypothetical or imaginary. However, the overall relationship between attitudes and awareness reveals that this was a very minor part of the total picture (Table 3-9).

Less than 10 per cent of those citizens reporting at least a spectator interest in the Eugene Project did not answer or said that they did not know how they felt about it. Another 18 per cent were undecided while three-quarters had an opinion--with the bulk approving of the project. This contrasts dramatically with the 97 per cent of the majority of the citizens who had admitted not having heard about the matter expressing indecision or ignorance of their attitude toward the Eugene Project. Such a finding attests to the validity of the question, at least for those expressing their unawareness of the project, and to restricted awareness of that project among the citizens.

TABLE 3-9

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AWARENESS OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD THE EUGENE PROJECT

Awareness of Eugene Project*	Attitudes Toward Eugene Project					
				Don't	Totals	
Eugene	Approve	Undecided	Disapprove	Know	%	N
Not heard of it	2%	45	1	52	100	155
Does not matter	27%	45	0	27	99	11
Interested, but done nothing	63%	27	3	7	100	30
Talked about it	68%	24	6	3	101	34
Taken active part	92%	0	8	0	100	13

* The seven who did not answer the question concerning awareness of the Eugene Project were excluded from this table.

An equally important feature in the present context is the finding (Table 3-8) that the approvers outnumber the disapprovers of the Eugene Project by a 12:1 ratio (25 to 2 per cent). Such a finding undermines the aforementioned impressionistic feeling that the Eugene Project was possibly assessed by relatively large proportions of the citizenry negatively as well as positively, with the data from Table 3-9 contradicting that expectation as expressed in the following hypothesis:

> H_8: As Eugeneans became aware of the Eugene Project, they (a) formed attitudes toward it (b) which attitudes were distributed among the citizens on the basis of approximately a 50-50 split between the negative and the positive.

The important second portion of the hypothesis (b) is contradicted, although the first, relatively trivial portion (a) is supported.

The initial hypothesis concerning the relationship between attitude toward the Eugene Project and changes in citizen school orientations failed when it was found that H_1, supra, was incorrect because there were no greater net positive changes in the latter variables in Eugene than in Springfield. Originally a major prediction, that disconfirmed hypothesis initially read:

> H_9: The Eugene Project would result in more net positive change in citizen school orientations in Eugene than occurred in Springfield from Time 1 to Time 3.

An alternative hypothesis was then constructed which reads:

> H_{10}: Eugeneans approving the Eugene Project would evidence more net positive change in school orientations than Eugeneans undecided, disapproving, or not knowing how they felt about the Eugene Project--with the former evidencing more net positive change and the latter more net negative change than Springfielders generally.

The findings bearing on H_{10} are presented in Table 3-10.

TABLE 3-10

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATTITUDES TOWARD THE EUGENE PROJECT AND CHANGES IN CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS: TIME 1 TO TIME 3

Stability-Change in School Orientations:	Attitude Toward the Eugene Project				
	Eugene Panel				Springfield Panel (N=271)
Time 1 to 3	Approve (N=63)	Undecided (N=91)	Disapprove (N=6)	Don't Know (N=90)	
a. Rating of the Schools					
Stable	51%	47%	67%	54%	51%
Increasingly:					
Positive	24	20	17	20	17
Negative	21	20	17	13	19
Distant	2	4	0	2	5
Decreasingly:					
Distant	3	7	0	10	9
	100%	98%	101%	99%	101%
b. Educational Ideology					
Stable	32%	50%	67%	41%	39%
Increasingly:					
Progressive	19	24	17	27	24
Traditional	22	13	0	12	21
Opinionated	2	7	17	17	10
Decreasingly:					
Opinionated	6	7	0	3	5
	100%	101%	101%	100%	100%
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism					
Stable	64%	63%	33%	42%	57%
Increasingly:					
Trusting	16	15	0	11	11
Cynical	11	9	50	18	14
Distant	6	7	17	11	6
Decreasingly:					
Distant	3	7	0	18	13
	100%	100%	101%	100%	101%
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness					
Stable	40%	43%	33%	30%	44%
Increasingly:					
Toward citizens	24	20	0	22	15
Toward influentials	21	22	50	16	22
Distant	8	8	17	11	5
Decreasingly:					
Distant	8	8	0	21	14
	101%	100%	101%	100%	100%

(Continued)

Table 3-10 (Continuation).

	Attitude Toward the Eugene Project				
	Eugene Panel				Springfield Panel (N=271)
	Approve (N=63)	Undecided (N=91)	Disapprove (N=6)	Don't Know (N=90)	
e. Spending for Special Education					
Stable	52%	35%	33%	36%	44%
Increasingly:					
Supportive	24	23	0	21	19
Opposed	22	36	50	34	32
Distant at either time	2	6	17	9	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%	101%
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens					
Stable	40%	34%	33%	27%	33%
Increasingly:					
Supportive	17	24	17	26	26
Opposed	40	33	33	36	38
Distant at either time	3	9	17	12	3
	100%	100%	100%	101%	100%

On none of the six school orientations variables did Eugeneans who approved of the Eugene Project change (positively and negatively) more than Eugeneans with other attitudes toward that project. The former evidenced more net positive change than others on only one item, spending for special education. The small category of Eugeneans disapproving of the Eugene Project did change negatively more than others on three items: the two concerning their orientations toward the decision-makers and the one concerning spending for special education. Generally, however, the overall pattern does not conform to the prediction in H_{10}.

These findings suggest, in fact, that Eugeneans approving the Eugene Project maintained rather than changed their orientations toward the schools more than others. Although the differences were for the most part minute, they were more stable than the undecided, and substantially more stable than those who did not know how they felt about the Eugene Project on five of the six school orientations variables. We shall shortly pursue this matter further.

The fact that the important first part of H_{10} was not supported makes the second part incorrect as well. That leads us back to another possibility mentioned above, namely, that instead of the Eugene Project having a net favorable impact by affecting positively some citizens who had not been as favorable toward the public schools and affecting negatively other citizens who had been favorable toward the schools, the Project might have had primarily a reinforcing effect on citizens. Citizens who were initially favorable or supportive of the schools might have remained so as a consequence of their approval of the Eugene Project while citizens initially unfavorable or less supportive might have been reinforced in their more negative orientations by their disapproval of the Eugene Project.

For that entire alternative dynamic to have occurred for a significant number of citizens there would have had to be a relatively large number disapproving the Eugene Project, and we now know that such was not the case (Table 3-8). But the first portion of that process could have occurred, namely: the Eugene Project may have reinforced initially favorable school orientations of citizens. For that to have happened, the following two hypotheses would have had to be supported, namely:

> H_{11}: Eugeneans of more favorable Time 1 school orientations would hear about the Eugene Project more than Eugeneans of less favorable Time 1 school orientations.
>
> and
>
> H_{12}: Eugeneans of more favorable Time 1 school orientations would approve of the Eugene Project more than Eugeneans of less favorable Time 1 school orientations.

If both of those predictions were to be supported, we could not rule out the possibility that the aforementioned attitude reinforcement process had been at work.

The data confirm both H_{11} and H_{12} (Table 3-11). There was a tendency for those citizens of relatively favorable school orientations (as of Time 1) to have heard about and to have approved the Eugene Project more than did citizens of relatively unfavorable school orientations. We cannot yet rule out the possibility, therefore, that the impacts of the Eugene Project on citizen school orientations may have been somewhat more than most of our earlier findings suggested. That possibility is also congruent with the hint in the data that citizens approving the Eugene Project were slightly more stable than

TABLE 3-11

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS AT TIME 1 AND AWARENESS OF, AND ATTITUDES TOWARD, THE EUGENE PROJECT

Time 1:	Have not heard about it	Does not matter to me	Interested but done nothing	Have talked about it	Have taken active part	Don't know No answer	Totals %	Totals N
a. Rate the local public schools								
Very good	53%	3	14	16	10	4	100	79
Other	66%	5	11	12	3	2	99	171
b. Educational Ideology								
Progressive (approving)	44%	2	14	18	16	6	100	50
Other	67%	5	12	12	2	2	100	200
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism								
Trusting (do what they could)	58%	4	13	15	7	3	100	151
Other	68%	5	10	12	2	3	100	99
d. Conception of school officials' responsiveness								
To citizens	55%	2	20	12	7	4	100	84
Other	66%	5	8	14	4	2	99	166
e. Spending for special education								
Strongly approve	44%	4	22	17	9	4	100	54
Other	66%	5	9	13	4	3	100	196
f. Increasing taxes for public kindergartens								
Strongly approve	41%	6	19	19	13	3	101	32
Other	65%	4	11	13	4	3	100	218

Table 3-11 (continuation) Attitudes Toward the Eugene Project

	Approve	Undecided	Disapprove	Don't know No answer	Totals %	N
a. Rate the local public schools						
Very good	37%	32	4	28	101	79
Other	20%	39	2	40	101	171
b. Educational Ideology						
Progressive (approving)	48%	30	0	22	100	50
Other	20%	38	3	40	101	200
c. School decision-maker cynicism						
Trusting (do what they could)	30%	38	3	28	99	151
Other	17%	34	1	47	99	99
d. Conception of school officials' responsiveness						
To citizens	35%	36	6	24	101	84
Other	20%	37	1	42	100	166
e. Spending for special education						
Strongly approve	44%	30	2	24	100	54
Other	20%	38	3	39	100	196
f. Increasing taxes for public kindergartens						
Strongly approve	47%	38	3	13	101	32
Other	22%	36	2	39	99	218

others in their orientations--which orientations were more favorable than those of others to start with.

A more detailed breakdown of the findings of Table 3-10 permits a direct test of two hypotheses that would substitute for both H_9 and H_{10}, _supra_, namely:

> H_{13}: The Eugene Project would result in more stability in positive citizen school orientations in Eugene than occurred in Springfield from Time 1 to Time 3.
>
> and
>
> H_{14}: Eugeneans approving the Eugene Project (a) would evidence more stability in positive school orientations than other Eugeneans (b) while the latter would evidence less stability in their positive school orientations than Springfielders generally.

The reason for making both predictions rather than simply the first prediction (H_{13}) is that even should H_{13} prove to be incorrect, H_{14} could be confirmed. The latter (H_{14}) is based on the possibility that such other naturally-occurring events in Eugene as the boundary dispute or the teachers' salaries issue might have caused some Eugeneans to have less stable positive school orientations than Springfielders so that the net result might be equal stability from community to community in this regard.

We find that H_{13} is _not_ correct. Using the strictest measures of "positive" citizen school orientations that we can, we find the degree of stability in such orientations to be substantially identical in the two cities (Table 3-12, Cols. 3, 4). On three of the measures, Springfielders evidenced a very slightly greater degree of stability; on two measures Eugeneans were very slightly more stable, and on one they were equal in stability in their positive school orientations.

TABLE 3-12

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATTITUDES TOWARD THE EUGENE PROJECT AND STABILITY IN POSITIVE CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS: TIME 1 TO TIME 3

	Eugene Panel			Springfield Panel
	Attitude Toward the Eugene Project			
Positive Stability in School Orientations: Time 1 to 3	(Col. 1) Strongly Approve (N=15)	(Col. 2) Other (N=235)	(Col. 3) Combined (N=250)	(Col. 4) (N=271)
a. Rating of Schools				
Stable: Very Good	33%	14%	16%	19%
Other	67	86	84	81
	100%	100%	100%	100%
b. Educational Ideology				
Stable: Progressive	40%	9%	11%	8%
Other	60	91	89	92
	100%	100%	100%	100%
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
Stable: Trusting	73%	40%	42%	47%
Other	27	60	58	53
	100%	100%	100%	100%
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
Stable: To Citizens	13%	14%	14%	22%
Other	87	86	86	78
	100%	100%	100%	100%
e. Spending for Special Education				
Stable: Strongly Approve	47%	5%	7%	6%
Other	53	95	93	94
	100%	100%	100%	100%
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
Stable: Strongly Approve	33%	13%	14%	14%
Other	67	87	86	86
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Yet we find that the first part (a) of H_{14} appears to be supported by these data. On all but the conception of school officials' responsiveness measure, those Eugeneans who strongly approved the Eugene Project were considerably more stable over time in their positive school orientations than those who simply approved, were undecided about, and/or were unaware of that project (Table 3-12, Cols. 1, 2). Apart from those strongly approving the project there was little or no difference between those who simply approved and others in the stability of their positive school orientations. Hypothesis 14, as revised to take that into account, would read:

> H_{14A}: Eugeneans strongly approving the Eugene Project (a) would evidence more stability in positive school orientations than other Eugeneans and Springfielders generally (b) while those other Eugeneans would evidence a stability of positive school orientations equal to Springfielders generally.

The second portion of the original hypothesis (H_{14}) was contradicted by the data (Table 3-12, Cols. 2, 4). The absence of substantial community differences in stability of positive citizen school orientations was not due to a canceling out of more stability by strong approvers of the Eugene Project and less stability of other Eugeneans compared to Springfielders generally. Instead of other Eugeneans being less stable than Springfielders there was a striking similarity. Why, then, in the light of the confirmation of part (a) of H_{14}, supra, did not the Eugene Project have the effect of producing generally more stability in positive citizen school orientations in Eugene than in Springfield (H_{13})?

The answer to that question lies in the fact that the proportion of Eugene citizens strongly approving the Eugene Project and having such relatively stable positive school orientations is so small. Only 6 per cent of the panel strongly approved that project. To repeat our earlier point, disapprovers of the Eugene Project were even scarcer than approvers; only 2 per cent strongly disapproved, compared to the 6 per cent strongly approving, the project. But with proportionately so few strongly approving the Eugene Project, we find that they made little difference in the overall comparisons of the two citizenries. Eugeneans and Springfielders were, in fact, comparable in the stability of their positive school orientations even though the few citizens strongly approving the project were much more stable in that regard than others.

Actually, what we have done so far with H_{14} is to establish that an association existed that is important (for reasons that shall be given below) but we have not yet tested whether strong approval of the Eugene Project caused a positive stability in school orientations through the postulated process of attitude reinforcement. The major alternatives are twofold. Either 1) such an attitude reinforcement process was at work or else 2) the greater stability in positive school orientations evidenced by Eugeneans who strongly approved the Eugene Project may have been due to their already being staunch friends of the schools more than others so that they were more likely than those others to take that attitude toward the project.

Should the latter prove to be the correct interpretation, it is an important finding because such friends of the schools could have been opposed or uncertain about the project rather than supporters of it for a variety of reasons. Moreover, while only 6 per cent of the panel sample strongly approved of the project, that turns out to be several thousand citizens in the district as a whole.[11] If the attitude reinforcement process was found to be operative that would reveal that not only were friends of the schools happy with the major program of educational modernization innovations, but also that such a program had consequential side-effects in maintaining that friendship of citizens.

Fortunately, there is a way to select the alternative that best fits the findings. By presenting the findings in terms of what the relationship was between Eugene Project attitudes and stability of positive school orientations according to the Time 1 orientations of citizens, we can see whether, in fact, strong approval of that project did reinforce positive orientations over time or whether the association was fortuitous, that is, due to the earlier, more positive orientations of the strong approvers of the project.

The results are mixed, but there does seem to be an attitude reinforcement process at work on four of the six orientations (Table 3-13, b, c, e, f). We find that the apparent impact of the Eugene Project in reinforcing and producing more stable positive orientations is a spurious kind of finding for the general rating of the schools and conception of school officials' responsiveness (Table 3-13, a, d). Its apparent impact on those two variables was simply an association wherein the greater positive stability of orientations was due to the initially more positive orientations of those who turned out to be the strong approvers of the Eugene Project (Table 3-13). These conclusions receive support from the finding that the citizens of Springfield resembled the Eugeneans who were other than strong approvers of the Eugene Project in the stability of those positive

TABLE 3-13

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATTITUDES TOWARD THE EUGENE PROJECT AND STABILITY IN POSITIVE CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS AMONG THOSE OF POSITIVE ORIENTATIONS* AT TIME 1

Positive at Time 1	Eugene Panel		Springfield Panel
	Attitudes Toward the Eugene Project		
Time 1 to 3:	Strongly Approve	Other	
a. Rating of Schools			
Stable: Very Good	50%	49%	51%
Other	50	51	49
Totals: %	100%	100%	100%
N	10	69	101
b. Educational Ideology			
Stable: Progressive	60%	55%	39%
Other	40	45	61
Totals: %	100%	100%	100%
N	10	40	57
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism			
Stable: Trusting	100%	66%	75%
Other	0	34	25
Totals: %	100%	100%	100%
N	11	40	169
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness			
Stable: To Citizens	40%	42%	53%
Other	60	58	47
Totals: %	100%	100%	100%
N	5	79	111
e. Spending for Special Education			
Stable: Strongly Approve	64%	26%	28%
Other	36	74	72
Totals: %	100%	100%	100%
N	11	43	53
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens			
Stable: Strongly Approve	60%	22%	22%
Other	40	78	78
Totals: %	100%	100%	100%
N	5	27	19

* Positive Orientations at Time 1 refer to the categories describing the Stable under each of the six measures, e.g., Very good for Rating of Schools.

school orientations that were apparently affected by the project from Time 1 to 3.

We may summarize the situation by noting that H_{14A} so far escapes disconfirmation, at least in part, not only because it reflects accurately an empirical association, but also because it warrants being interpreted to this point as a cause and effect attitude reinforcement statement. However, the positive general rating of the schools and the conception of school officials as responsive to citizens were apparently not reinforced by strong approval of the Eugene Project. Nor in the latter case did that project seem to prevent a greater shift among Eugeneans than among Springfielders generally away from a conception of school officials as responsive to citizens--possibly due to the boundary decisional process and the school budget controversy.

To summarize briefly, we found that the program of educational modernization innovations known as the Eugene Project was relatively restricted in terms of proportions of Eugeneans who had heard of it. Those who had were predominantly favorable toward it, but it did not result either in changing citizen orientations and evaluations toward their schools or in causing a net increase in favorable citizen orientations. Its impact seemed to be one of reinforcing initial support for the schools, particularly on the part of the very small segment of the community who strongly approved this surprisingly unknown project. In the next chapter an additional test shall be made to evaluate further whether the limited attitude reinforcement that seemed to operate for even the small proportion of Eugene's school supporters was more apparent than real. We shall see whether similar attitude reinforcement effects of new teaching techniques was due to projection or deduction from pre-existing attitudes towards such innovations or to induction from the introduction locally of such innovations, or to a combination of the two. We turn now to the matter of the possible impacts of the programs of educational modernization concerning new teaching techniques apart from the name of the project by which that program was known to school officials and to a minority of citizens in Eugene.

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CHAPTER IV

INNOVATIONS IN TEACHING TECHNIQUES AND CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS: EXPERIMENTAL FINDINGS ON IMPACTS OVER TIME

The "improvement of local public education through new teaching techniques" was a matter of much greater awareness for the citizens of both cities than was the Eugene Project. There were certainly some citizens who reported an awareness of this more generally described program of educational modernization who were not aware of it in fact. And there was a greater tendency for citizens to offer an opinion about new teaching techniques even though they had earlier in the interview admitted not hearing about them than was the case for the Eugene Project. But the analysis of the content of citizen conversation in response to open ended questions, questions also asked prior to those about the Eugene Project and new teaching techniques in the course of the interviews, confirms that there was in fact much greater awareness of the existence of efforts to introduce new teaching techniques than there was in regard to the Eugene Project. In Eugene, one-third of the citizens at most reported awareness of the Eugene Project while at least two-thirds reported being aware of the improvement of local public education through new teaching techniques.[1] In Springfield the comparable percentages were less than 10 per cent having any awareness of the project in the neighboring city compared to almost two-thirds reportedly aware of new teaching techniques locally.[2]

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[1] That latter figure would be 77 per cent of the panel if those who implied awareness by saying "Does not matter much to me" were classified as among the aware.

As expected, it was "easier" for some citizens to have an attitude toward new teaching techniques locally without having heard of the matter than was the case with Eugene citizens in regard to the specific Eugene Project (Table 4-1). Some 37 and 45 per cent of the panelists in Eugene and Springfield, respectively, who reportedly had not heard of the local teaching techniques innovations expressed an opinion about them when asked. That indicates that to some extent citizen attitudes toward educational modernization innovations are shaped by information and conceptions about extra-local events, which information and conceptions led in this case to positive predispositions toward the local innovations.[3] In neither city were either the unaware and opinionless (or neutral or conflicted) or the unaware but opinionated more than a minority of the entire citizenries. We shall return to the matter of awareness of new teaching techniques shortly.

The very first test of the counterpart of what proved to be a key hypothesis for the Eugene Project suggested an expansion of that hypothesis to provide for an apparent occurrence of an effect of attitudes toward new teaching techniques that was not present for Eugene Project attitudes. The hypothesis in its expanded and slightly reworded form is as follows,

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[2] The latter figure would be 71 per cent if those who implied some awareness by saying "Does not matter much to me" were classified as among the aware.

[3] This would seem to have been very much the case with citizens of the state in regard to "community mental health clinics," another kind of local innovation. See "Report on Oregon Citizen Sentiments as of October, 1963: Toward the Concept of a 'Community Mental Health Clinic'" by Robert E. Agger, Mental Health Division, Oregon State Board of Control, Salem, Oregon.

TABLE 4-1

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AWARENESS OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD NEW TEACHING TECHNIQUES

Awareness of New Teaching Techniques*	Attitudes Toward Teaching Techniques					
	Approve	Undecided	Disapprove	Don't Know	Totals %	N
Eugene						
Not heard of it	33%	45	4	17	100	52
Does not matter	29%	50	17	4	100	24
Interested, but done nothing	60%	26	9	5	100	88
Talked about it	64%	28	8	--	100	61
Taken active part	85%	5	5	5	100	20
Springfield						
Not heard of it	34%	46	11	9	100	76
Does not matter	50%	27	23	--	100	22
Interested, but done nothing	70%	17	11	3	100	76
Talked about it	77%	12	9	--	98	78
Taken active part	94%	6	--	--	100	17

*There were five respondents in Eugene and two in Springfield who were excluded from these tables because they did not answer.

with the words "fans" and "non-fans" used to designate citizens of relatively positive or of relatively negative (or less positive) orientations toward the schools, respectively, as measured by their responses on the six citizen school orientations variables used in the previous tests of hypotheses:

> H_{15}: (a) Fans of the schools in Eugene and in Springfield who approved of new teaching techniques would remain fans to a greater extent than would fans who did not approve of such innovations, while (b) in both cities non-fans who approved of new teaching techniques would become fans to a greater extent than would non-fans who did not approve such innovations.

No effort was made to make a prediction about possible differences in such patterns in the two cities.

The results as set out in Tables 4-2 and 4-3 constitute a clear indication of support for both parts (a) and (b) of H_{15}. In both Eugene and Springfield, attitudes toward new teaching techniques did relate to citizen school orientations in such a manner as to reveal both reinforcement and improvement effects. For those citizens who were fans of the schools at Time 1, there were consistent, linear relationships between new teaching techniques attitudes and the extent to which they remained fans by Time 3. For those non-fans at Time 1 there were somewhat less consistently linear, but mostly positive relationships between new teaching techniques attitudes and the extent to which non-fans became fans by Time 3.

It would seem, then, that the introduction of new teaching techniques whether in the form of the publicized Eugene Project or in a more conventional manner as in Springfield does play a role in both the maintenance and improvement of citizen support for their schools as indicated by these citizen orientations measures. We shall examine that most important finding in more detail in the next section, at which time we shall

TABLE 4-2

RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDES TOWARD NEW TEACHING TECHNIQUES TO CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS AT TIME 3 BY POSITIVE TIME 1 ORIENTATIONS IN EUGENE AND SPRINGFIELD

Positive Rating: Time 1 Eugene NTT* Attitude: Time 3	School Orientations Rating at Time 3		Totals	
	Positive	Other	%	N
a. Rating of Schools				
Strongly approve NTT	80%	20	100	20
Approve NTT	50%	50	100	30
Other	28%	72	100	20
b. Educational Ideology				
Strongly approve NTT	71%	29	100	17
Approve NTT	52%	48	100	23
Other	40%	60	100	10
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
Strongly approve NTT	83%	17	100	18
Approve NTT	79%	21	100	70
Other	54%	56	100	63
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
Strongly approve NTT	36%	64	100	11
Approve NTT	55%	45	100	42
Other	26%	74	100	31
e. Spending for Special Education				
Strongly approve NTT	59%	41	100	17
Approve NTT	29%	71	100	21
Other	13%	87	100	16
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
Strongly approve NTT	45%	55	100	9
Approve NTT	34%	66	100	17
Other	---	100	100	6

*NTT stands for New Teaching Techniques.

TABLE 4-2 (Continuation)

Positive Rating: Time 1 Springfield NTT Attitude: Time 3	School Orientations Rating at Time 3		Totals	
	Positive	Other	%	N
a. Rating of Schools				
Strongly approve NTT	75%	25	100	16
Approve NTT	52%	48	100	58
Other	37%	63	100	27
b. Educational Ideology				
Strongly approve NTT	70%	30	100	10
Approve NTT	31%	69	100	36
Other	36%	64	100	11
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
Strongly approve NTT	91%	9	100	23
Approve NTT	75%	25	100	95
Other	67%	33	100	51
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
Strongly approve NTT	47%	53	100	17
Approve NTT	83%	17	100	47
Other	33%	67	100	37
e. Spending for Special Education				
Strongly approve NTT	46%	54	100	13
Approve NTT	32%	68	100	25
Other	7%	93	100	15
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
Strongly approve NTT	(2)	(2)	---	4
Approve NTT	22%	78	100	9
Other	---	100	100	6

TABLE 4-3

RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDES TOWARD NEW TEACHING TECHNIQUES TO CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS AT TIME 3 BY LESS THAN POSITIVE TIME 1 ORIENTATIONS IN EUGENE AND SPRINGFIELD

Less Than Positive Rating: Time 1 Eugene NTT* Attitude: Time 3	School Orientations Rating at Time 3		Totals	
	Positive	Other	%	N
a. Rating of Schools				
Strongly approve NTT	12%	88	100	14
Approve NTT	30%	70	100	70
Other	21%	79	100	87
b. Educational Ideology				
Strongly approve NTT	12%	88	100	17
Approve NTT	17%	83	100	23
Other	10%	90	100	10
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
Strongly approve NTT	25%	75	100	16
Approve NTT	57%	43	100	30
Other	42%	58	100	53
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
Strongly approve NTT	22%	78	100	23
Approve NTT	19%	81	100	58
Other	28%	72	100	85
e. Spending for Special Education				
Strongly approve NTT	53%	47	100	17
Approve NTT	13%	87	100	79
Other	6%	94	100	95
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
Strongly approve NTT	12%	88	100	25
Approve NTT	5%	95	100	83
Other	3%	97	100	110

*NTT stands for New Teaching Techniques.

TABLE 4-3 (Continuation)

Less Than Positive Rating: Time 1 Springfield NTT Attitude: Time 3	School Orientations Rating at Time 3		Totals	
	Positive	Other	%	N
a. Rating of Schools				
Strongly approve NTT	30%	70	100	20
Approve NTT	26%	74	100	73
Other	25%	75	100	77
b. Educational Ideology				
Strongly approve NTT	8%	92	100	26
Approve NTT	22%	78	100	95
Other	10%	90	100	93
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
Strongly approve NTT	54%	46	100	13
Approve NTT	58%	42	100	36
Other	32%	68	100	53
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
Strongly approve NTT	32%	68	100	19
Approve NTT	31%	69	100	74
Other	16%	84	100	66
e. Spending for Special Education				
Strongly approve NTT	52%	48	100	23
Approve NTT	8%	92	100	106
Other	7%	93	100	89
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
Strongly approve NTT	16%	84	100	32
Approve NTT	7%	93	100	122
Other	3%	97	100	103

also make an effort to assess whether the introduction of new teaching techniques may actually have resulted in decreasing citizen support of their schools--a possibility not considered specifically in H_{15}.

Federal System Models of Community Attitude Influences: Inducement vs. Deducement

There is a mechanism or process implicit in the previous hypothesis that needs to be made explicit. It needs to be made explicit because alternative mechanisms or processes can be postulated that imply very different kinds of models of the dynamics of the cause-effect flows associated with such innovations as the introduction of new teaching techniques and citizen orientations toward their schools. The mechanism or process referred to is a kind of simplistic-rational-direct cause and effect scheme. It assumes a set or program of innovations being introduced into a community, some citizens becoming aware of them, and then being reinforced in their positive attitudes toward the institution introducing them, becoming more positive if they had been less positive earlier, or even becoming more negative from an earlier positive posture. It assumes, in other words, possible attitude impacts of an innovation as a direct consequence of citizens becoming aware of that innovation, an induced kind of attitude change or reinforcement.

An alternative mechanism or process involves the kind of deduction and projection mentioned in the very first chapter. Assuming that communities are open systems, and in the American federal system communities are of a more or less open character, an innovation developed outside of a community may come to the attention of citizens inside through the mass media or in a variety of ways. A process of assumption or projection may occur such that citizens begin to conceive of their community as having an innovation in being which they had become aware was in existence elsewhere. In order to acquire a more complete understanding of the ways and means by which new teaching techniques may affect citizen school orientations, it is imperative to try to ascertain which of these alternative models is more valid.

It is possible to make the following test in this connection. A control is introduced such that citizens of initially positive school orientations are classified by whether they have heard about the improvement of local public education through new teaching techniques as well as by their attitudes toward the latter. That test reveals that in an overwhelming number of cases the reinforcement and improvement of citizen school orientations from Time 1 to Time 3 appears to be unrelated to awareness that their school system has indeed embarked on a program of teaching techniques innovations (Table 4-4). It is attitude toward, rather than awareness of, new teaching techniques that seems to result in reinforcement of positive and improvement of less than positive citizen orientations toward their schools.

In order to extend this analysis, we may turn to a community in which similar measurements were taken at two points in time, but which community was known by the researchers not to have introduced to almost any degree by 1964 the kinds of new teaching techniques that characterized both Eugene's and Springfield's school systems by 1963. That community, Junction City by name, was less than twenty miles from Eugene. It had a small school district and was located in an agricultural area of relatively sparse population. The sample that was drawn was from within both the city and the surrounding rural parts of that district. The panel

TABLE 4-4

RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDES TOWARD NEW TEACHING TECHNIQUES TO CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS AT TIME 3 BY TIME 1 ORIENTATIONS AND BY AWARENESS OF NEW TEACHING TECHNIQUES LOCALLY IN EUGENE

Positive Rating: Time 1 Attitude Toward NTT*: Time 3 Awareness of NTT: Time 3	School Orientations Rating at Time 3		Totals	
	Positive	Other	%	N
a. Rating of Schools				
Approve† NTT				
Aware	62%	38	100	44
Unaware	67%	33	100	6
Other-NTT				
Aware	21%	79	100	19
Unaware	40%	60	100	10
b. Educational Ideology				
Approve NTT				
Aware	60%	40	100	35
Unaware	60%	40	100	5
Other-NTT				
Aware	29%	71	100	7
Unaware	---	--	---	(3)
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
Approve NTT				
Aware	80%	20	100	75
Unaware	77%	13	100	13
Other-NTT				
Aware	53%	47	100	45
Unaware	56%	44	100	18
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
Approve NTT				
Aware	52%	48	100	44
Unaware	45%	55	100	9
Other-NTT				
Aware	30%	70	100	20
Unaware	18%	82	100	11

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*NTT stands for New Teaching Techniques.

†Approve represents the combined "Strongly approve" and "Approve" categories.

TABLE 4-4 (Continuation)

Positive Rating: Time 1 Attitude Toward NTT: Time 3 Awareness of NTT: Time 3	School Orientations Rating at Time 3 Positive	 Other	Totals %	 N
e. Spending for Special Education				
Approve NTT				
Aware	41%	59	100	34
Unaware	---	--	---	(4)
Other-NTT				
Aware	9%	91	100	11
Unaware	20%	80	100	5
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
Approve NTT				
Aware	36%	64	100	22
Unaware	---	--	---	(4)
Other-NTT				
Aware	---	--	---	(3)
Unaware	---	--	---	(3)

TABLE 4-4 (Continuation)

RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDES TOWARD NEW TEACHING TECHNIQUES TO CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS AT TIME 3 BY TIME 1 ORIENTATIONS AND BY AWARENESS OF NEW TEACHING TECHNIQUES LOCALLY IN SPRINGFIELD

Positive Rating: Time 1	School Orientations			
Attitude Toward NTT: Time 3	Rating at Time 3		Totals	
Awareness of NTT: Time 3	Positive	Other	%	N
a. Rating of Schools				
Approve NTT				
Aware	63%	37	100	64
Unaware	20%	80	100	10
Other-NTT				
Aware	47%	53	100	15
Unaware	25%	75	100	12
b. Educational Ideology				
Approve NTT				
Aware	38%	62	100	40
Unaware	50%	50	100	6
Other-NTT				
Aware	40%	60	100	5
Unaware	33%	67	100	6
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
Approve NTT				
Aware	78%	22	100	103
Unaware	80%	20	100	15
Other-NTT				
Aware	68%	32	100	28
Unaware	65%	35	100	23
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
Approve NTT				
Aware	62%	38	100	68
Unaware	83%	17	100	6
Other				
Aware	28%	72	100	18
Unaware	37%	63	100	19

TABLE 4-4 (Continuation)

Positive Rating: Time 1	School Orientations			
Attitude Toward NTT: Time 3	Rating at Time 3		Totals	
Awareness of NTT: Time 3	Positive	Other	%	N
e. Spending for Special Education				
Approve NTT				
Aware	37%	63	100	35
Unaware	---	--	---	(3)
Other-NTT				
Aware	13%	87	100	8
Unaware	---	100	100	7
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
Approve NTT				
Aware	33%	67	100	12
Unaware	---	--	---	--
Other-NTT				
Aware	---	--	---	(3)
Unaware	---	--	---	(3)

TABLE 4-4 (Continuation)

RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDES TOWARD NEW TEACHING TECHNIQUES TO CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS AT TIME 3 BY TIME 1 ORIENTATIONS AND BY AWARENESS OF NEW TEACHING TECHNIQUES LOCALLY IN EUGENE

Less Than Positive Rating: Time 1	School Orientations			
Attitude Toward NTT: Time 3	Rating at Time 3		Totals	
Awareness of NTT: Time 3	Positive	Other	%	N
a. Rating of Schools				
Approve NTT				
Aware	30%	70	100	73
Unaware	18%	82	100	11
Other-NTT				
Aware	24%	76	100	62
Unaware	12%	88	100	25
b. Educational Ideology				
Approve NTT				
Aware	16%	84	100	82
Unaware	17%	83	100	12
Other-NTT				
Aware	9%	91	100	74
Unaware	13%	87	100	32
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
Approve NTT				
Aware	45%	55	100	42
Unaware	---	--	---	(4)
Other-NTT				
Aware	44%	56	100	36
Unaware	35%	65	100	17
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
Approve NTT				
Aware	19%	81	100	73
Unaware	25%	75	100	8
Other-NTT				
Aware	31%	69	100	61
Unaware	21%	79	100	24

TABLE 4-4 (Continuation)

Less Than Positive Rating: Time 1	School Orientations		Totals	
Attitude Toward NTT: Time 3	Rating at Time 3			
Awareness of NTT: Time 3	Positive	Other	%	N
e. Spending for Special Education				
Approve NTT				
Aware	19%	81	100	83
Unaware	23%	77	100	13
Other-NTT				
Aware	7%	93	100	70
Unaware	3%	97	100	30
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
Approve NTT				
Aware	6%	94	100	95
Unaware	8%	92	100	13
Other-NTT				
Aware	3%	97	100	78
Unaware	3%	97	100	32

TABLE 4-4 (Continuation)

RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDES TOWARD NEW TEACHING TECHNIQUES TO CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS AT TIME 3 BY TIME 1 ORIENTATIONS AND BY AWARENESS OF NEW TEACHING TECHNIQUES LOCALLY IN SPRINGFIELD

Less Than Positive Rating: Time 1 Attitude Toward NTT: Time 3 Awareness of NTT: Time 3	School Orientations Rating at Time 3 Positive	 Other	Totals %	 N
a. Rating of Schools				
Approve NTT				
Aware	28%	72	100	77
Unaware	25%	75	100	16
Other-NTT				
Aware	23%	77	100	39
Unaware	26%	74	100	38
b. Educational Ideology				
Approve NTT				
Aware	19%	81	100	101
Unaware	20%	80	100	20
Other-NTT				
Aware	10%	90	100	49
Unaware	9%	91	100	44
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
Approve NTT				
Aware	58%	42	100	38
Unaware	55%	45	100	11
Other-NTT				
Aware	37%	63	100	26
Unaware	37%	63	100	27
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
Approve NTT				
Aware	29%	71	100	73
Unaware	40%	60	100	20
Other-NTT				
Aware	8%	92	100	36
Unaware	26%	74	100	31

TABLE 4-4 (Continuation)

Less Than Positive Rating: Time 1	School Orientations			
Attitude Toward NTT: Time 3	Rating at Time 3		Totals	
Awareness of NTT: Time 3	Positive	Other	%	N
e. Spending for Special Education				
Approve NTT				
Aware	16%	84	100	106
Unaware	13%	87	100	23
Other-NTT				
Aware	9%	91	100	46
Unaware	5%	95	100	43
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
Approve NTT				
Aware	8%	92	100	129
Unaware	12%	88	100	25
Other-NTT				
Aware	6%	94	100	51
Unaware	---	100	100	47

measurements were made in 1963 and 1964 so that those years represent Time 1 and Time 3 instead of 1959 and 1963 as in Eugene and Springfield.

First of all, the apparent reinforcement and improvement impacts of new teaching techniques attitudes on citizen school orientations were more variable and of a lesser strength than those noted in Eugene and Springfield. Secondly, and of special importance in the present connection, when a comparable control was introduced to the effect of whether citizens had heard of such a program locally, the apparent impacts on citizen school orientations did not vary according to such awareness. Thirdly, the proportion of citizens reporting being unaware of such a program was actually higher in Junction City than in Springfield. The proportions reporting not having heard of a local program rose from about one-fifth of the sample in Eugene through slightly more than one-quarter in Springfield, to almost two-fifths in Junction City. On the other hand, those same figures indicate that even in the community with no such program, substantial proportions of the citizenry express at least some interest in the matter.

Even though the simplistic-rational-direct or induction model does not seem to be as valid as the deduction model, there appear to be indirect effects of the actual introduction of such an innovations program. Variations in the extent to which such a program of educational modernization actually has been introduced into communities relates to effects on citizen school orientations in the following way. The proportion of citizens approving new teaching techniques varies with awareness of those techniques. Thus, on the basis of the comparative data from Eugene, Springfield, and Junction City, a kind of "two-step" influence process seems to be operative. In communities wherein an innovation such as new teaching techniques has not been adopted, attitudes toward that innovation shape stability and changeability of citizen orientations toward such an institution as public schools. In communities that have adopted such innovations, citizens tend to become aware of their adoption and such awareness leads to more approval and, hence, to more stable support for the public schools as well as to improvement of such orientations on the part of citizens who had not been so approving earlier.

The findings, therefore, fit a model that provides for positive innovation attitudes being generated by extra-community events and for positive innovation attitudes being generated by local community policy action, both having comparable reinforcement and improvement impacts on citizens in their orientations toward the innovating institution. This kind of combined deduction-induction model fits a federal system that provides constitutionally for certain local authority at the same time that a national system of communications and extra-local flows of information provides mechanisms for a more even or homogeneous spread of innovating policies than might otherwise emerge from a more rigid national-local division of powers.

It is somewhat startling, to describe the investigators' state of mind frankly, to have found what appear to be measureable, relatively strong effects of the introduction of new teaching techniques locally in Eugene and Springfield, not to speak of the effects of affirmative citizen predispositions toward new teaching techniques in Junction City, on the maintenance and improvement of citizen supportive attitudes toward their public school system. It behooves us to make every effort to disconfirm the hypothesis that appears to be valid in that connection by dealing with a set of variables that could operate in such a manner as to have given the findings plausibility when in fact the relationship might be a spurious one, that is, be due to other factors. Before engaging in that task in the next section, we shall point to one other implication of the composite model which seems to fit best the findings to date. It is an implication that either may be overlooked or taken as a not so surprising phenomenon, but its importance may be appreciated when two alternative states of affairs are pointed out.

The failure to find differences in the reinforcement or improvement processes associated with attitudes of approval toward new teaching techniques on the basis of whether citizens were or were not aware that such techniques had been introduced into their public school system points to the importance of those positive attitudes toward such innovations. It is the existence of those predominantly positive attitudes toward new teaching techniques that leads to the implication of concern here. For the model to be a general model, that is, for such policy innovations as new teaching techniques to work both in an inductive and deductive manner to generate and maintain support for public schools or other institutions, there has to be some general dispositions on the part of citizens to approve such innovations. To be more precise, there would have to be distributions skewed toward positive reactions on the part of citizens toward such matters as "new teaching techniques" as was the case in these three communities. That this is not inevitable can be seen from the fact that both "new buildings for local government" and "limited access expressways within the city" were approved at Time 3 by a bare majority in Eugene and Springfield, while in Junction City more citizens disapproved than approved of such policy innovations.

On the other hand, both of those policies would seem to have a clearer cost connotation, as well as being assessable more in terms of the needs of particular communities with given characteristics and problems. There are, however, various studies of policy attitudes of American citizens which suggest that for a wide range of innovations, particularly at the national level of policy-making, citizens are predisposed to approve them even though there are greater or lesser cost and tax consequences associated with them.[4] Such a disposition to approve of the new can be appreciated when one thinks of so-called primitive societies characterized by a much more wide-spread response set that resists change and policies intended to accomplish change. The third alternative (besides being receptive or opposed to policy innovations) would be a disposition for people to be uncertain about or more evenly divided on policy innovations.

The fact that on at least some policy innovations citizens of many American communities are disposed to approve rather than be undecided or to disapprove suggests that influence directed at such basic orientations is extant however slow, subtle, or unintended it may be. We would imagine that such influence is a combined effect of schooling of young people, consumption of mass media, and perhaps of such factors as personality development in a society witnessing continual scientific and technological flux. Whatever its cause, the workings of such influence processes underlie the creation of conditions for a more general model than would otherwise exist.

The fact that not every citizen approved even of new teaching techniques leads us to examine directly the possibility that such an innovation had negative as well as positive effects on citizen orientations toward their schools. To do so we shall classify respondents in Eugene and Springfield not only by their Time 1 and Time 3 orientations toward the schools, but also whether at Time 3 they reported approval, disapproval or indecision (or "don't know") relative to new teaching techniques. That will allow us to focus specifically on those who disapproved of such techniques in comparison to others, a comparison which was not possible when the undecided and don't knows were mixed with the disapprovers as in Table 4-2 and 4-3. These data as arranged in Table 4-5 permit us to test the following hypotheses which further specify H_{15}, supra:

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[4] See the national election studies of the Survey Research Center as reported, for example, in A. Campbell, G. Curin, and W. E. Miller, The Voter Decides (Row, Peterson, and Co., Evanston, Ill., 1954).

> H_{15}: (c) Fans of the schools in Eugene and in Springfield who disapproved of new teaching techniques would become non-fans to a greater extent than would fans who were undecided about and who approved such innovations; and (d) Non-fans of the schools in Eugene and in Springfield who disapproved of new teaching techniques would become fans to a lesser extent than would fans who were undecided about and who approved such innovations.

Negative effects could take the form of making initially positive orientations more negative (c) as well as inhibiting more positive orientations from forming, or, to use our earlier language, maintaining negative orientations towards the schools (d).

We may use the combined undecided and don't know category (hereinafter referred to simply as the undecided) to calculate the base-line. That is, if citizens who disapprove of new teaching techniques become or remain non-fans to a greater extent than the undecided, both (c) and (d) of H_{15} would be confirmed because the movement or stability of the undecided manifestly cannot be attributed to their positive or negative attitudes towards new teaching techniques. Given the results of testing H_{15} (a) and (b), supra, we also expect that the undecided in turn will have

TABLE 4-5

RELATIONSHIP OF TIME 1 RATING OF SCHOOLS BY ATTITUDES TOWARD NEW TEACHING TECHNIQUES TO TIME 3 RATING OF SCHOOLS IN EUGENE AND SPRINGFIELD

Rating of Schools: Time 1	School Orientations		Totals	
Attitudes Toward NTT*	Rating at Time 3			
	Positive	Other	%	N
Eugene				
Positive Rating				
Approve[†] NTT	62%	38	100	50
Undecided and Don't Know	29%	71	100	24
Disapprove[‡] NTT	20%	80	100	5
Other Rating				
Approve NTT	28%	72	100	84
Undecided and Don't Know	22%	78	100	73
Disapprove NTT	13%	87	100	16
Springfield				
Positive Rating				
Approve NTT	58%	42	100	76
Undecided and Don't Know	35%	65	100	23
Disapprove NTT	---	--	---	(4)
Other Rating				
Approve NTT	27%	73	100	94
Undecided and Don't Know	39%	61	100	59
Disapprove NTT	12%	88	100	25

*NTT stands for New Teaching Techniques.

[†] Approve includes Strongly Approve and Approve.

[‡] Disapprove includes Strongly Disapprove and Disapprove.

become or remained fans to a lesser extent than those who approve of new teaching techniques.

The findings confirm both (c) and (d) of H_{15} (Table 4-5.) There are observable negative effects on citizen school orientations of attitudes of disapproval towards new teaching techniques (the patterns found for the rating of the school orientation as presented in Table 4-5 hold for the other school orientations variables which are not reported in tabular form to conserve space). It should be noted, however, that the extent of these "negative" influence dynamics is quite restricted because such small proportions of the citizen samples in Eugene and Springfield disapprove of new teaching techniques. (It is interesting to note that the citizens in the base-line categories, the undecided, tend to maintain their initial school orientations in Eugene but when they change approximately equal numbers move between the fans and non-fans categories. In Springfield there is somewhat more change, with a greater number of the undecided becoming fans from an initial non-fan status than vice-versa.)

Social Class, Parental, P.T.A., and Participant Status

In an effort to subject the findings on the relationships between new teaching techniques and stability-change in citizen school orientations to further tests we have selected four factors that would seem theoretically--and on the basis of other studies--to relate both to new teaching techniques attitudes and orientations towards the schools. The suspicion is that one or more of those four variables could underlie new teaching techniques attitudes so that the impacts of the latter upon maintenance and change in school orientations was in reality due to those other variables. These four variables are: social class, parental, P.T.A. and participant status.

Social class status: The concepts of class, class structure, class position, and class status are neither usable in their original meanings nor totally irrelevant for understanding socio-political behavior in United States communities in the 1960s. They are not usable as explanatory variables to the extent that they connote a system of stratification wherein groups of citizens differentiated on the basis of whether they work as proletarians or bourgeoisie are distinguishable on the basis of sharp, permanent variations in the degree of social deference or respect accorded each other, in the extent to which groups are closed to others higher or lower on such dimensions relative to social interactions ranging from visiting through club memberships to marriages, or in the degree to which economic wealth and power attaches in a durable manner to, and interpenetrates, relatively impermeable social collectivities. To the extent that such terms denote differential acquisition to and possession of various social and political values by sets of citizens, however changeable the structure and permeable the strata over time, they are useful in making sense of perspectives and actions of citizens that are neither completely random nor identical from one person to another.

Political orientations, such as the six citizen school orientations variables discussed above, and voting behavior, such as the casting of ballots in the Eugene and Springfield annual budget elections as mentioned earlier, are the kinds of perspectives and actions that have significance for the operations of such community institutions as schools. It has been demonstrated that social class status as measured by such indicators as level of formal education, income, and occupation shapes such perspectives as political party identifications and such actions as voting preferences in communities in the United States.[5] We shall make an effort to assess whether such a variable as social class status affects citizen school orientations, school budget voting intentions, and attitudes towards new teaching techniques.

We have already found that attitudes towards new teaching techniques affect in various ways citizen school orientations. We shall see whether social class is the real independent variable affecting both attitudes towards new teaching techniques and citizen school orientations. Then we shall see what impacts, if any, new teaching techniques attitudes had on voting intentions in the May, 1963 school budget elections in Eugene and Springfield. At the same time we shall test an hypothesis about the possible impacts of citizen school orientations on such voting intentions. Then we shall examine social class to see whether it may not be the variable underlying possible relationships between attitudes towards new teaching techniques and voting intentions. In other words, the next part of this analysis is concerned with whether attitudes towards new teaching techniques were simply manifestations or epiphenomena of social class status rather than independent variables shaping public school perspectives and/or action in their own right.

It is to be expected that social class status and attitudes towards new teaching techniques in fact are related to each other. The model that serves us in that regard is something like this: starting with children, given social class statuses of parents affect the formal and informal socialization, schooling, and educational experiences and outcomes of the youngsters. Those parents with relatively high degrees of education themselves, value and stress education, the beneficial consequences of education, the possibility of aggregation of resources over time, immediate self-denial for future benefits, i.e., a "future-oriented" life, and the importance of expecting and being receptive as well as contributing to change. Innovation-mindedness is thus expected from the offspring of parents whose own orientations located their children in the mainstream of social experiences that lead to feelings of security in regard to, as well as expectations of and appreciation for, change.

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[5] Campbell, A., Converse, P.E., Miller, W.E., and Stokes, D.E., The American Voter (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1960).

Greater resistance if not actual hostility to change is expected from children of parents who are concerned with the present rather than the future, with immediate resource allocations rather than resource accumulations, with personal threats rather than benefits from many changes--that is, on the part of those towards the low end of the social class structure in United States communities. It is also increasingly realized that lower class adults from lower class backgrounds have been differentially treated in many public school systems by teachers who tend to reinforce unconsciously the educational and change orientations of middle and upper class children relatively more than those of lower class (and racial minority) children. Whether such influences actually work to create anti-innovation attitudes in general or specifically in regard to public school innovations on the part of how many, if any, lower class children is an open question in the absence of appropriate research on the matter. We suspect that the impact of the influence of schools themselves on lower class children in United States communities tends to be generally pro-innovation and change, but not in regard to specific institutions such as the schools themselves and specific programs such as new teaching techniques. By that we mean that we expect lower class citizens in United States communities to have less positive orientations or predispositions towards change in general than upper class citizens and in a good number of cases actual negative or at best neutral sentiments towards innovative programs of educational modernization compared to positive sentiments of upper class citizens as a consequence of such factors as the influence of schooling itself on orientations of children towards social and technological change.

This does not mean that we expect lower class citizens to oppose socio-political change that they conceive as in their interests, but to have a greater wariness and predisposition to be suspicious about various proposals for policy change. Nor does it mean that we expect the lower class citizens in United States communities to be as resistant to change as citizens of even (relatively) higher social class rank in other societies. Citizens of traditional, simple ("primitive") or underdeveloped societies may rank much higher on a fear or opposition to change scale and there has been recent speculation that citizens in such a developed country as the Soviet Union are much more resistant to changes than frequently assumed.[6] A Yugoslavian scholar in a controversial analysis attributes the "fact (that) today there is no more conservative society than the Soviet society (where) the slightest change, even a new kind of tie, song, or trouser leg width, provokes great resistance" to centuries of imperial autocracy and the continuation in the first decades of the Soviet regime of a "limitless paternalism."[7] Whatever the comparative picture really is like, and no one knows as yet, the model that emerges from various research findings in United States communities has it that social class seems to have an influence in affecting citizen orientations towards change. For a discussion and review of the literature on the "authoritarianism" of lower class people in various societies, including the United States, from which an implication may be drawn that lower class people everywhere tend to be more receptive to short-run, immediately obvious change than to more complex and subtle long-term programs of changes, one can profitably read Lipset's "Working-class Authoritarianism."[8]

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[6] New York Times, June 6, 1965, p. 9 (also New Leader, March 29, 1965 and June 7, 1965).

[7] Ibid., and see Edward Crankshaw, Russia and the Russians, (New York: Viking Press, 1948).

Even in the light of our model, however, we do not expect that an innovative set of mind or orientation is invariably going to be present in the children of upper status families nor always absent in children of lower status families in Eugene and Springfield or in other United States communities. Not only is the social class structure typically sufficiently open to provide for movement considerable distances both up and down the social class ladder within one generation, but there are many other variables that shape adult personality besides that of class-shaped parental guidance. What interests us here is not only an assessment of the degree of association between social class status and innovative attitudes (towards new teaching techniques), but an assessment of the relative strength of each variable when they are not congruent.

Equally important to us is an effort to develop in this analysis a better understanding of what has been termed elsewhere the cultural class system in United States communities.[9] In brief, what we are interested in doing is assessing the extent to which prior acquisition of such values as formal education can serve adequately as predictors of support for public school systems as indicated by orientations towards the schools and even more crucial school budget voting intentions or, alternatively, the extent to which such cultural values or perspectives as attitudes towards new teaching techniques need to be included as part of the operational definition, and as among the indicators, of cultural class position or status. The latter concept points to the operative psychological properties of men's minds as dimensions distinguishing and differentiating citizens from each other, with common viewpoints and outlooks rather than similar social attainment or interactional properties serving as the basis of a more or less aware membership in (cultural) class strata with associated differences in policy perspectives and actions towards such institutions as the public school system.

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[8] Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man (Garden City, New York: A Doubleday Anchor Book, 1963), pp. 87-126.

Parental status: Apart from possible impacts of parental social class background and more frequently than not from a theoretical point of view that rejects the importance of social class in shaping political attitudes, parental status per se is frequently regarded as the kind of interest that may affect attitudes towards such innovations as programs of new teaching techniques. Conceived as a complex of potential and actual interests and interest groups, the United States and its politics are viewed by some analysts as understandable not so much or even at all in terms of a social class-policy attitude nexus but rather in terms of interests based on models of relatively "rational" people pursuing ends ascribed to intelligent, enlightened middle class men in twentieth-century Western urban-industrialized society.[10]

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[9] See Robert E. Agger, Daniel Goldrich, and Bert Swanson, The Rulers and the Ruled (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1964).

According to that model of man, one would expect (predict) that parents would be more receptive to and supportive of innovations directed to children than would non-parents. Further, parents with children in school already would be expected to be more positive towards such programs as new teaching techniques than parents with children beyond school age and than non-parents (the least receptive of all such categories would be non-parents who because of age or other reasons do not expect to have children in school in the future). That model can be elaborated to suggest that such predictions would be made with even greater confidence or that the relationships would be stronger between parental status in the sense of having children in school or not and attitudes towards budgetary and other fiscal measures of support than between parental status and attitudes towards the idea--apart from the costs--of such innovations.

For these and other reasons we examine below the possible shaping of new teaching techniques attitudes and the relationship between such attitudes and change-stability in citizen school orientations as discovered above by such factors as P.T.A. status as operationally defined below.

P.T.A. status: Underlying the models of many so-called interest-group theorists is an additional assumption that also contributes to the aforementioned expectations. Parents of school-age children would be expected to approve of new teaching techniques more than others also because they were more likely to have learned of it because of their closer connections to the schools and such program innovations and, hence, their more direct channels of information--on the assumption that awareness breeds approval. It has been demonstrated that the initiation of programs of new teaching techniques does affect awareness and approval on the part of citizens at large (comparing Eugene and Springfield to Junction City). There is even greater reason to stress the awareness-interest connection with such a variable as membership in Parent-Teacher Associations (P.T.A.).

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[10] See for example: Pendleton Herring, The Politics of Democracy (New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1940) and David B. Truman, The Governmental Process (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951).

P.T.A.s increasingly have come to be regarded by analysts as serving as vehicles for communications (and efforts to influence) from school administrators and to a lesser extent from teachers to parents. There is increasing questioning of the assumption that P.T.A.s serve a function for active participation by parents in educational decision-making, an ostensible purpose of such organizations nationally--and certainly in Eugene and Springfield. Regardless of the actual or latent functions of P.T.A. groups, and admitting the likelihood of variations in such functions from group to group, from community to community, and from time to time, there is increasing indication that regular attendance and even simple membership in P.T.A. is an act that is indicative of some interest on the part of the joiners. We have mentioned earlier that membership in P.T.A. in Eugene and Springfield was highly related to social class position as measured by formal educational level. We are prepared to predict that P.T.A. status even more than parental status in the aforementioned sense is related to new teaching techniques attitudes on the grounds both of interest and information-approval functions of P.T.A. status, regardless of the degree to which P.T.A. membership may initially be a function of such factors as social pressures and status or of civic duty rather than personal interest in one's child and his school environment. That prediction and others relating to the role of P.T.A. status in affecting the new teaching techniques attitudes-citizen school orientations (and possible voting intentions) relationships will be tested below.

Participant status: There are other forms of participation, besides that of P.T.A. activity, however consequential or inconsequential participation in P.T.A. may be for members in contributing to either political or administrative decision-making in the schools.[11] Any model of educational decision-making in United States communities would include among the extant channels for the exercise of influence and the attainment of power discussion of school policy matters with other citizens and/or officials and the patently more active roles in decision-making that are possible, such as securing signatures on letters or petitions, holding or attending special meetings, speaking to groups of people, calling on citizens and the manifold of means by which people can engage in local policy-making.[12]

The assumptions underlying models that attribute to parental and P.T.A. status in the aforementioned functions should also hold for participation in school affairs in other than the latter channel. To be sure, it is more plausible that more of those who participate in such other ways may tend to be critics of educational policies more often (i.e., under more conditions) than members or regular "attenders" of

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[11] See Rulers and the Ruled, op. cit., for a definition of political and administrative decision-making.

[12] For the distinction between influence and power, see ibid., Rulers and the Ruled.

P.T.A.s. However, the norm one would expect from findings that the bulk of school budget and bond issue elections in United States communities have favorable outcomes, thereby indicating that electoral participants tend more often to be supporters than critics of the schools, is the one expected for non-electoral and other than P.T.A. participants.

A virtue of using more than P.T.A. participation as a variable indicative of interest and involvement in school affairs is that it accords with a more realistic understanding of community decision-making in educational affairs than the view that accords the P.T.A. exclusiveness or primacy for citizen impacts on either the "big" policy decisions or the more mundane, day-to-day decisions of administrators. The associated empirical virtue is that a higher proportion of respondents participate at least by discussing occasionally school affairs than belong to P.T.A.

Social Class, Parental, P.T.A., and Participant Status as Related to Attitudes Towards New Teaching Techniques

To continue with the same format, the following four hypotheses were developed for examining the relationship between attitudes towards new teaching techniques and the four social and political status variables:

H_{16}: The higher the social class status, the more favorable were attitudes towards new teaching techniques in both Eugene and Springfield.

H_{17}: Parents of children in public school were more favorable towards new teaching techniques than were other citizens in both Eugene and Springfield.

H_{18}: Members of P.T.A. were more favorable towards new teaching techniques than were non-members in both Eugene and Springfield.

H_{19}: The higher the level of participation in school affairs, the more favorable were attitudes towards new teaching techniques in both Eugene and Springfield.

Each of those predictions is borne out as indicated by the data in Table 4-6. The data are derived from the Time 3 sample since attitudes towards new teaching techniques were not measured at Time 1. The samples include "neighbor" replacements for the panelists who were interviewed at Time 1 but who could not be interviewed at Time 3. However, the reported relationships hold also for the panelists alone.

The indicator of social class used to test H_{16} is simply level of formal education attained, although similar relationships obtain when such social class indicators as income and occupation or composite indices are used. The low education category includes all respondents with two years of high school education or less, the medium educated includes those who completed three years of high school or who were high school graduates or who attended trade school, and the highly educated includes everyone who reported going to college for at least one year, with some actually being college graduates and others having attended professional or graduate school.

The relationships between social class status and attitudes towards new teaching techniques are pronounced both in Eugene and Springfield. A finer discrimination between level of education categories produces an even stronger relationship between the two variables in each city but the educational level trichotomy produces a sufficiently clear relationship for our purposes.

The variable of parental status is presented in terms of four basic categories: citizens with no children, citizens with children who are beyond public school age (i.e., with older children), citizens with children of pre-school age only (i.e., with very young children),

TABLE 4-6

RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIAL CLASS, PARENTAL, P.T.A., AND PARTICIPANT STATUS TO ATTITUDES TOWARDS NEW TEACHING TECHNIQUES

	Attitudes Towards New Teaching Techniques					
				Don't	Totals	
Educational Level	Approve	Undecided	Disapprove	Know	%	N
Eugene						
Low Education	38%	35	17	10	100	83
Medium Education	47%	42	5	5	99	113
High Education	70%	21	6	3	100	126
Springfield						
Low Education	52%	28	14	6	100	149
Medium Education	67%	25	6	2	100	123
High Education	82%	13	3	2	100	62
Parental Status						
Eugene						
No Children	33%	54	4	9	100	46
Children Beyond School Age	42%	33	15	10	100	110
Pre-schoolers Only	56%	44	--	--	100	18
School Age Children	69%	22	6	2	99	140
Not Ascertained	57%	43	--	--	100	7
Springfield						
No Children	59%	18	11	11	99	27
Children Beyond School Age	49%	29	16	7	101	115
Pre-schoolers Only	81%	15	4	--	100	26
School Age Children	70%	23	6	1	100	164
Not Ascertained	---	--	--	--	---	(3)
P.T.A. Status						
Eugene						
No	48%	36	9	7	100	232
Yes, P.T.A. Member	69%	24	7	--	100	42
Yes, Regularly Attend P.T.A.	71%	20	7	2	100	41
Springfield						
No	55%	28	12	4	99	250
Yes, P.T.A. Member	85%	12	--	3	100	33
Yes, Regularly Attend P.T.A.	85%	12	2	--	99	40
School Participation						
Eugene						
1 (Low)	31%	47	13	9	100	55
2	48%	36	9	7	100	171
3	77%	16	5	2	100	61
4 (High)	82%	15	3	--	100	33
Springfield						
1 (Low)	43%	36	15	6	100	88
2	64%	22	10	4	100	168
3	82%	14	4	--	100	55
4 (High)	83%	13	4	--	100	23

and citizens with children in public school (some of whom also have children of pre-school age and/or beyond school-age). Although H_{17} refers only to parents of children in school compared to others, the more complex categories provide for the testing of additional hypotheses by inspecting the data contained in Table 4-6. For example, although there are very small proportions of parents of pre-schoolers only in both cities, it is evident that in neither city do such citizens disapprove of new teaching techniques as much as do other categories, but in Springfield there is much less uncertainty about such innovations than in Eugene among such parents. It is also evident that in both cities it is those with children beyond school age who contain the highest proportions of actual disapprovers of new teaching techniques.

There is, of course, a correlation between these categories of parental status and chronological age. For example, three-quarters to 85 per cent of the parents of pre-schoolers only are under 35 years of age in Eugene and Springfield, respectively. Less than 6 per cent of parents of children beyond school age are under 45 years of age. The largest proportions of parents with children in public school are between the ages of 35 and 45 years (almost half in Eugene and exactly half in Springfield). The citizens without children are more of a mixed bag in regard to their ages: one-fifth to one-quarter are under 35 years of age and about one-third are more than 65 years of age. Because age is one step removed from the theoretical variable of concern here, parental status, and because there is the aforementioned correlation between chronological age and parental status, we shall confine the analysis to the latter variable keeping in mind that the social fact of parental status is shaped by the physical facts of the birth, aging, and mortality processes among parents and children.

P.T.A. status has been presented as a three-category variable: non-members, members, and regular attenders--based on self-reports on specific questions of membership and "attend regularly?" It can be seen that in regard to attitudes towards new teaching techniques the fact of membership in P.T.A. alone regardless of frequency of attendance makes a difference in the predicted direction (Table 4-6).

The index of school participation is a more sensitive discriminator and relates more strongly to attitudes towards new teaching techniques than does P.T.A. status. Those citizens who report no discussion of, attendance at meetings regarding, or taking a more active part in school affairs disapprove of new teaching techniques more than do citizens who are not members of P.T.A. And with every increase in the degree of participation there is an increase in attitudes of approval of new teaching techniques. So, too, is there a consistent increase in the proportion disapproving of the latter as participation decreases (with but one exception for the highest and next to highest participants in Springfield).

To summarize, then, it would seem that there are grounds for continuing to explore the possibility that such variables as social class, parental, P.T.A., and participant status may be confounding or confusing the relationships discovered between attitudes towards new teaching techniques and citizen orientations towards the schools since the first four variables relate to those innovation sentiments.

We turn now to an examination of four companion hypotheses concerning the possible relationships of the four status variables and the citizen school orientations variables.

Social Class, Parental, P.T.A., and Participation Status as Related to Citizen School Orientations at Times 1 and 3

The four hypotheses consistent with the expectation that the status variables related to the key citizen school orientations variables as had the attitudes towards new teaching techniques are as follows:

H_{20}: The higher the social class status, the more positive were orientations towards the schools at Times 1 and 3 in both Eugene and Springfield.

H_{21}: Parents of children in public school had more positive orientations towards the schools than did other citizens at Times 1 and 3 in both Eugene and Springfield.

H_{22}: Members of P.T.A. had more positive orientations towards the schools than did non-members at Times 1 and 3 in both Eugene and Springfield.

H_{23}: The higher the level of participation in school affairs, the more positive were orientations towards the schools at Times 1 and 3 in both Eugene and Springfield.

The results of testing those hypotheses for Time 1 and Time 3 are incorporated in Table 4-7 for Eugene only since the Springfield data are consistent with the Eugene findings (thereby saving space). For two of the variables, P.T.A. and participant status, the tests consistently confirm the hypotheses (H_{22} and H_{23}). The results of testing H_{21} are somewhat less consistent, with only a weak relationship between parental status and rating of the schools at Times 1 and 3 and the absence of the expected relationship for the conception of the responsiveness of school officials at Time 3. The findings that substantially conflict with the prediction are those regarding H_{20}. Instead of relatively strong, consistently linear relationships between social class position and school orientations we find relatively weak, inconsistent and sometimes curvilinear relationships.

TABLE 4-7A

RELATIONSHIP OF EDUCATIONAL LEVEL TO CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS: EUGENE - TIMES 1 AND 3

Citizen School Orientation	Educational Level Low Education	 Medium Education	 High Education
a. Rating of Schools			
Rating: Time 1			
Positive	29%	28%	37%
Other	71	72	63
Totals: %	100	100	100
N	51	85	102
Rating: Time 3			
Positive	28%	25%	42%
Other	72	75	58
Totals: %	100	100	100
N	61	85	102
b. Educational Ideology			
Rating: Time 1			
Positive	6%	18%	31%
Other	94	82	69
Totals: %	100	100	100
N	54	74	101
Rating: Time 3			
Positive	17%	25%	27%
Other	83	75	73
Totals: %	100	100	100
N	54	71	101
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism			
Rating: Time 1			
Positive	51%	62%	64%
Other	49	38	36
Totals: %	100	100	100
N	61	84	104
Rating: Time 3			
Positive	44%	65%	62%
Other	56	35	38
Totals: %	100	100	100
N	61	84	104

TABLE 4-7A (Continuation)

Citizen School Orientation	Educational Level Low Education	 Medium Education	 High Education
d. Conception of School Officals' Responsiveness			
Rating: Time 1			
Positive	30%	38%	33%
Other	70	62	67
Totals: %	100	100	100
N	61	85	103
Rating: Time 3			
Positive	23%	35%	30%
Other	77	65	70
Totals: %	100	100	100
N	61	85	103
e. Spending for Special Education			
Rating: Time 1			
Positive	8%	26%	26%
Other	92	74	74
Totals: %	100	100	100
N	60	85	104
Rating: Time 3			
Positive	8%	15%	24%
Other	92	85	76
Totals: %	100	100	100
N	60	85	104
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens			
Rating: Time 1			
Positive	5%	19%	12%
Other	95	81	88
Totals: %	100	100	100
N	61	85	104
Rating: Time 3			
Positive	2%	7%	12%
Other	98	93	88
Totals: %	100	100	100
N	61	85	104

TABLE 4-7B

RELATIONSHIP OF PARENTAL STATUS TO CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS: EUGENE - TIMES 1 AND 3

Citizen School Orientation	Parental Status	
	Children in Public School	Other
a. Rating of Schools		
Rating: Time 1		
Positive	34%	30%
Other	66	70
Totals: %	100	100
N	107	143
Rating: Time 3		
Positive	33%	32%
Other	67	68
Totals: %	100	100
N	106	143
b. Educational Ideology		
Rating: Time 1		
Positive	27%	14%
Other	73	86
Totals: %	100	100
N	107	125
Rating: Time 3		
Positive	34%	15%
Other	66	85
Totals: %	100	100
N	104	125
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism		
Rating: Time 1		
Positive	70%	53%
Other	30	47
Totals: %	100	100
N	107	142
Rating: Time 3		
Positive	67%	53%
Other	33	47
Totals: %	100	100
N	107	142

TABLE 4-7B (Continuation)

Citizen School Orientation	Parental Status	
	Children in Public School	Other
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness		
Rating: Time 1		
Positive	42%	27%
Other	58	73
Totals: %	100	100
N	107	141
Rating: Time 3		
Positive	31%	30%
Other	69	70
Totals: %	100	100
N	107	141
e. Spending for Special Education		
Rating: Time 1		
Positive	28%	17%
Other	72	83
Totals: %	100	100
N	107	143
Rating: Time 3		
Positive	23%	13%
Other	77	87
Totals: %	100	100
N	107	143
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens		
Rating: Time 1		
Positive	22%	6%
Other	78	94
Totals: %	100	100
N	107	143
Rating: Time 3		
Positive	15%	2%
Other	85	98
Totals: %	100	100
N	107	145

TABLE 4-7C

RELATIONSHIP OF P.T.A. STATUS TO CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS: EUGENE - TIMES 1 AND 3

Citizen School Orientations	P.T.A. Status No	 Yes
a. Rating of Schools		
Rating: Time 1		
Positive	28%	42%
Other	72	58
Totals: %	100	100
N	184	66
Rating: Time 3		
Positive	31%	36%
Other	69	64
Totals: %	100	100
N	184	66
b. Educational Ideology		
Rating: Time 1		
Positive	16%	32%
Other	84	68
Totals: %	100	100
N	164	66
Rating: Time 3		
Positive	18%	38%
Other	82	62
Totals: %	100	100
N	164	65
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism		
Rating: Time 1		
Positive	56%	73%
Other	44	27
Totals: %	100	100
N	183	66
Rating: Time 3		
Positive	51%	82%
Other	49	18
Totals: %	100	100
N	183	66

TABLE 4-7C (Continuation)

Citizen School Orientations	P.T.A. Status No	P.T.A. Status Yes
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness		
Rating: Time 1		
Positive	30%	42%
Other	70	58
Totals: %	100	100
N	182	66
Rating: Time 3		
Positive	27%	38%
Other	73	62
Totals: %	100	100
N	182	66
e. Spending for Special Education		
Rating: Time 1		
Positive	19%	27%
Other	81	73
Totals: %	100	100
N	194	66
Rating: Time 3		
Positive	13%	26%
Other	87	74
Totals: %	100	100
N	194	66
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens		
Rating: Time 1		
Positive	11%	18%
Other	89	82
Totals: %	100	100
N	184	66
Rating: Time 3		
Positive	3%	20%
Other	97	80
Totals: %	100	100
N	184	66

Although these tests weaken the presumption that the four status variables are responsible for the relationships of central interest here, namely: those between attitudes towards new teaching techniques and change or stability (improvement or reinforcement) in citizen school orientations, we can and will put the matter to a more direct set of tests. The data in Table 4-8 for both communities are arranged so that the following hypotheses can be tested:

H_{24}: Maintenance and improvement of supportive citizen school orientations are positively associated with social class position in both Eugene and Springfield.

H_{25}: Maintenance and improvement of supportive citizen school orientations are positively associated with parental status (e.g., having school-age children) in both Eugene and Springfield.

H_{26}: Maintenance and improvement of supportive citizen school orientations are positively associated with membership in P.T.A. in both Eugene and Springfield.

H_{27}: Maintenance and improvement of supportive citizen school orientations are positively associated with the level of participation in school affairs in both Eugene and Springfield.

The data do not consistently confirm these four hypotheses. In Eugene, on only two of the six citizen school orientations variables does social class status apparently have a maintenance or reinforcement effect from Time 1 to Time 3. The results are quite mixed in regard to reinforcement effects of parental and participation status and on P.T.A. status there are such effects on five of the six school orientations variables but the relationships in two of those cases are not strong. Modest improvement effects are noticeable for P.T.A. status, to a much lesser extent for parental status on five of the six school orientations ratings, to an even lesser extent with participation status and in only a minority of those ratings in the case of social class position.

TABLE 4-8A

RELATIONSHIP OF EDUCATIONAL LEVEL TO TIME 3 CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS BY TIME 1 SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS (EUGENE)

	Rating at Time 3		Totals	
	Positive	Other	%	N
Positive Rating: Time 1				
a. Rating of Schools				
Low Education	33%	67	100	15
Medium Education	33%	67	100	24
High Education	68%	32	100	38
b. Educational Ideology				
Low Education	---	---	---	(3)
Medium Education	62%	38	100	13
High Education	61%	39	100	31
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
Low Education	55%	45	100	31
Medium Education	73%	27	100	52
High Education	73%	27	100	67
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
Low Education	28%	72	100	18
Medium Education	50%	50	100	32
High Education	41%	59	100	34
e. Spending for Special Education				
Low Education	---	---	---	(5)
Medium Education	27%	73	100	22
High Education	37%	63	100	27
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
Low Education	---	---	---	(3)
Medium Education	25%	75	100	16
High Education	38%	62	100	13
Less Than Positive Rating: Time 1				
a. Rating of Schools				
Low Education	26%	74	100	46
Medium Education	21%	79	100	61
High Education	27%	73	100	64
b. Educational Ideology				
Low Education	16%	84	100	51
Medium Education	16%	84	100	61
High Education	11%	89	100	70

TABLE 4-8A (Continuation)

	Rating at Time 3		Totals	
	Positive	Other	%	N
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
Low Education	33%	67	100	30
Medium Education	53%	47	100	32
High Education	43%	57	100	37
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
Low Education	21%	79	100	43
Medium Education	26%	74	100	53
High Education	25%	75	100	69
e. Spending for Special Education				
Low Education	5%	95	100	55
Medium Education	11%	89	100	63
High Education	19%	81	100	77
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
Low Education	2%	98	100	58
Medium Education	3%	97	100	69
High Education	8%	92	100	91

TABLE 4-8B

RELATIONSHIP OF PARENTAL STATUS TO TIME 3 CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS BY TIME 1 SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS (EUGENE)

	Rating at Time 3			
			Totals	
	Positive	Other	%	N
Positive Rating: Time 1				
a. Rating of Schools				
Children in Public School	46%	54	100	35
Other*	55%	45	100	42
b. Educational Ideology				
Children in Public Schools	59%	41	100	29
Other	61%	39	100	18
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
Children in Public Schools	75%	25	100	75
Other	64%	36	100	75
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
Children in Public Schools	42%	58	100	45
Other	42%	58	100	38
e. Spending for Special Education				
Children in Public Schools	40%	60	100	30
Other	25%	75	100	24
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
Children in Public Schools	35%	65	100	23
Other	11%	89	100	9
Less Than Positive Rating: Time 1				
a. Rating of Schools				
Children in Public Schools	27%	73	100	71
Other	23%	77	100	100
b. Educational Ideology				
Children in Public Schools	24%	76	100	75
Other	8%	92	100	97
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
Children in Public Schools	50%	50	100	32
Other	40%	60	100	67

*Other includes the following: No Children; Children Beyond School Age; Pre-schoolers Only; Not ascertained.

TABLE 4-8B (Continuation)

	Rating at Time 3		Totals	
	Positive	Other	%	N
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
Children in Public Schools	23%	77	100	62
Other	25%	75	100	103
e. Spending for Special Education				
Children in Public Schools	17%	83	100	77
Other	10%	90	100	119
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
Children in Public Schools	10%	90	100	84
Other	1%	99	100	134

TABLE 4-8C

RELATIONSHIP OF P.T.A. STATUS TO TIME 3 CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS BY TIME 1 SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS (EUGENE)

	Rating at Time 3		Totals	
	Positive	Other	%	N
Positive Rating: Time 1				
a. Rating of Schools				
No	49%	51	100	51
Yes	50%	50	100	28
b. Educational Ideology				
No	53%	47	100	26
Yes	67%	33	100	21
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
No	59%	41	100	102
Yes	92%	8	100	48
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
No	40%	60	100	55
Yes	46%	54	100	23
e. Spending for Special Education				
No	28%	72	100	36
Yes	44%	56	100	18
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
No	10%	90	100	20
Yes	58%	42	100	12
Less Than Positive Rating: Time 1				
a. Rating of Schools				
No	24%	76	100	133
Yes	26%	74	100	38
b. Educational Ideology				
No	11%	89	100	138
Yes	25%	75	100	44
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
No	41%	59	100	81
Yes	56%	44	100	18
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
No	22%	78	100	127
Yes	32%	68	100	38

TABLE 4-8C (Continuation)

	Rating at Time 3		Totals	
	Positive	Other	%	N
e. Spending for Special Education				
No	10%	90	100	158
Yes	19%	81	100	48
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
No	2%	98	100	164
Yes	11%	89	100	54

TABLE 4-8D

RELATIONSHIP OF SCHOOL PARTICIPATION TO TIME 3 CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS BY TIME 1 SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS (EUGENE)

	Rating at Time 3			
			Totals	
	Positive	Other	%	N
Positive Rating: Time 1				
a. Rating of Schools				
No	67%	33	100	6
Yes	48%	52	100	73
b. Educational Ideology				
No	---	--	---	(3)
Yes	61%	39	100	44
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
No	62%	38	100	16
Yes	70%	30	100	134
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
No	22%	78	100	9
Yes	41%	59	100	80
e. Spending for Special Education				
No	---	--	---	(2)
Yes	33%	67	100	52
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
No	---	--	---	(3)
Yes	31%	69	100	29
Less Than Positive Rating: Time 1				
a. Rating of Schools				
No	18%	82	100	37
Yes	26%	74	100	137
b. Educational Ideology				
No	15%	85	100	27
Yes	14%	86	100	155
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
No	42%	58	100	24
Yes	44%	56	100	75
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
No	29%	71	100	31
Yes	23%	77	100	134

TABLE 4-8D (Continuation)

	Rating at Time 3		Totals	
	Positive	Other	%	N
e. Spending for Special Education				
No	8%	92	100	38
Yes	14%	86	100	158
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
No	---	100%	100	37
Yes	6%	94	100	181

TABLE 4-8E

RELATIONSHIP OF EDUCATIONAL LEVEL TO TIME 3 CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS BY TIME 1 SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS (SPRINGFIELD)

	Rating at Time 3		Totals	
	Positive	Other	%	N
Positive Rating: Time 1				
a. Rating of Schools				
Low Education	38%	62	100	29
Medium Education	50%	50	100	48
High Education	74%	26	100	23
b. Educational Ideology				
Low Education	33%	67	100	15
Medium Education	41%	59	100	29
High Education	45%	55	100	11
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
Low Education	62%	38	100	56
Medium Education	77%	23	100	71
High Education	86%	14	100	42
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
Low Education	45%	55	100	38
Medium Education	57%	43	100	47
High Education	58%	42	100	26
e. Spending for Special Education				
Low Education	21%	79	100	14
Medium Education	30%	70	100	23
High Education	31%	69	100	16
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
Low Education	14%	86	100	7
Medium Education	29%	71	100	7
High Education	---	--	---	(5)
Less Than Positive Rating: Time 1				
a. Rating of Schools				
Low Education	28%	72	100	90
Medium Education	24%	76	100	51
High Education	25%	75	100	28
b. Educational Ideology				
Low Education	16%	84	100	91
Medium Education	12%	88	100	67
High Education	22%	78	100	40

TABLE 4-8E (Continuation)

	Rating at Time 3		Totals	
	Positive	Other	%	N
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
Low Education	39%	61	100	64
Medium Education	50%	50	100	28
High Education	60%	40	100	10
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
Low Education	18%	82	100	82
Medium Education	31%	69	100	52
High Education	35%	65	100	26
e. Spending for Special Education				
Low Education	10%	90	100	105
Medium Education	15%	85	100	75
High Education	14%	86	100	36
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
Low Education	6%	94	100	113
Medium Education	8%	92	100	92
High Education	4%	96	100	47

TABLE 4-8F

RELATIONSHIP OF PARENTAL STATUS TO TIME 3 CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS BY TIME 1 SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS (SPRINGFIELD)

	Rating at Time 3			
			Totals	
	Positive	Other	%	N
Positive Rating: Time 1				
a. Rating of Schools				
Children in Public School	55%	45	100	55
Other*	49%	51	100	45
b. Educational Ideology				
Children in Public School	44%	56	100	39
Other	39%	61	100	18
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
Children in Public School	83%	17	100	98
Other	63%	37	100	71
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
Children in Public School	59%	41	100	66
Other	44%	56	100	45
e. Spending for Special Education				
Children in Public School	34%	66	100	29
Other	22%	78	100	23
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
Children in Public School	27%	73	100	11
Other	12%	88	100	8
Less Than Positive Rating: Time 1				
a. Rating of Schools				
Children in Public School	26%	74	100	81
Other	26%	74	100	89
b. Educational Ideology				
Children in Public School	15%	85	100	97
Other	17%	83	100	101
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
Children in Public School	51%	49	100	39
Other	40%	60	100	63

*Other includes the following: No Children; Children Beyond School Age; Pre-schoolers Only; Not Ascertained.

TABLE 4-8F (Continuation)

	Rating at Time 3		Totals	
	Positive	Other	%	N
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
Children in Public School	27%	73	100	71
Other	24%	76	100	89
e. Spending for Special Education				
Children in Public School	14%	86	100	108
Other	10%	90	100	111
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
Children in Public School	5%	95	100	126
Other	8%	92	100	126

TABLE 4-8G

RELATIONSHIP OF P.T.A. STATUS TO TIME 3 CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS BY TIME 1 SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS (SPRINGFIELD)

	Rating at Time 3			
			Totals	
	Positive	Other	%	N
Positive Rating: Time 1				
a. Rating of Schools				
No	46%	54	100	61
Yes	60%	40	100	40
b. Educational Ideology				
No	39%	61	100	31
Yes	43%	57	100	23
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
No	68%	32	100	110
Yes	86%	14	100	59
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
No	50%	50	100	70
Yes	58%	42	100	41
e. Spending for Special Education				
No	21%	79	100	34
Yes	44%	56	100	18
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
No	17%	83	100	12
Yes	29%	71	100	7
Less Than Positive Rating: Time 1				
a. Rating of Schools				
No	25%	75	100	138
Yes	28%	72	100	32
b. Educational Ideology				
No	17%	83	100	152
Yes	13%	87	100	46
c. Spending for Special Education				
No	41%	59	100	88
Yes	64%	36	100	14
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
No	23%	77	100	128
Yes	34%	66	100	32

TABLE 4-8G (Continuation)

	Rating at Time 3		Totals	
	Positive	Other	%	N
e. Spending for Special Education				
No	9%	91	100	164
Yes	22%	78	100	55
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
No	8%	92	100	186
Yes	3%	97	100	66

TABLE 4-8H

RELATIONSHIP OF SCHOOL PARTICIPATION TO TIME 3 CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS BY TIME 1 SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS (SPRINGFIELD)

	Rating at Time 3		Totals	
	Positive	Other	%	N
Positive Rating: Time 1				
a. Rating of Schools				
No	41%	59	100	17
Yes	54%	46	100	84
b. Educational Ideology				
No	57%	43	100	7
Yes	47%	53	100	38
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
No	59%	41	100	34
Yes	79%	21	100	135
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
No	42%	58	100	24
Yes	56%	44	100	87
e. Spending for Special Education				
No	12%	88	100	8
Yes	32%	68	100	44
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
No	---	--	---	(5)
Yes	21%	79	100	14
Less Than Positive Rating: Time 1				
a. Rating of Schools				
No	25%	75	100	55
Yes	26%	74	100	115
b. Educational Ideology				
No	15%	85	100	52
Yes	16%	84	100	146
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
No	32%	68	100	38
Yes	52%	48	100	64
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
No	25%	75	100	48
Yes	25%	75	100	112

TABLE 4-8H (Continuation)

	Rating at Time 3		Totals	
	Positive	Other	%	N
e. Spending for Special Education				
No	6%	94	100	64
Yes	14%	86	100	155
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
No	6%	94	100	67
Yes	6%	94	100	185

There are somewhat more consistent reinforcement or maintenance effects of these four variables on school orientations in Springfield (Table 4-8). However, the relationships are weak at best. Nor does a single one of those four variables produce an improvement in school orientations from Time 1 to Time 3 in a majority of the citizen school ratings in that city.

Unlike attitudes towards new teaching techniques, then, the variables of social class, parental, P.T.A., and participation status make very little difference in the degree to which citizens maintain initially positive, or improve initially less positive, orientations towards their public school systems in either Eugene or Springfield. Although at particular moments in time (i.e., at Time 1 and at Time 3) there were for the most part modest relationships between every one of those four variables and each of the six school orientations variables, stability and change in the latter were apparently not due to the former status dimensions. Thus, we tentatively conclude that the impacts apparently attributable to such innovative orientations as attitudes towards new teaching techniques upon such citizen perspectives as these six school orientations variables were not artifacts of social class or more mundane personal-family interests nor of active involvement in school affairs.

We may summarize these findings by framing a complex hypothesis that is confirmed even more directly by data on patterns of maintenance and improvement of citizen school orientations dealing simultaneously with new teaching techniques attitudes and each of the four other major variables: social class, parental, P.T.A., and participation status.

> H_{28}: (a) Fans of the schools in Eugene and in Springfield who approved of new teaching techniques would remain fans to a greater extent than would fans who did not approve of such innovations regardless of social class, parental, P.T.A., and school participation status, while (b) in both cities non-fans who approved of new teaching techniques would become fans to a greater extent than would non-fans who did not approve such innovations regardless of social class, parental, P.T.A., and school participation status.

That represents the expectation that the findings supporting H_{15}, supra, were not a function of these status variables.

The independent maintenance and improvement effects of attitudes towards teaching techniques on citizen school orientations, that is, effects which were not due to the correlations between such attitudes towards teaching techniques and the four status variables, are illustrated for one of those four variables--P.T.A. status--in the following table (Table 4-9). P.T.A. status had related most strongly of the four status variables to maintenance of positive and improvement of less than positive citizen school orientations.

It should be noted that P.T.A. status now makes a difference in only half of the twelve new teaching techniques-P.T.A. membership categories insofar as maintenance of positive school orientations in Eugene is concerned--even though the small numbers in many of the cells make conclusive results impossible to obtain. In Springfield it makes a comparable difference in only seven of those twelve categories. In Eugene P.T.A. status does seem to have small effects in the direction of improving less than positive ratings of the schools for nine of those twelve categories but only in five of the twelve in Springfield. The tendency is for the apparent relationships between P.T.A. status and maintenance-change in school orientations (as reported in Table 4-8, supra) to be further attentuated when the new teaching techniques attitude control is introduced.

TABLE 4-9A

RELATIONSHIP OF P.T.A. STATUS AND NEW TEACHING TECHNIQUES ATTITUDES
TO TIME 3 CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS
BY TIME 1 SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS (EUGENE)

	Rating at Time 3		Totals	
	Positive	Other	%	N
Positive Rating: Time 1				
P.T.A. Membership				
New Teaching Techniques Attitudes				
a. Rating of Schools				
Non-member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	69%	31	100	26
Not Approve NTT*	28%	72	100	25
Member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	57%	43	100	23
Not Approve NTT	---	--	---	(4)
b. Educational Ideology				
Non-member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	55%	45	100	20
Not Approve NTT	50%	50	100	6
Member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	72%	28	100	18
Not Approve NTT	---	--	---	(3)
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
Non-member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	68%	32	100	53
Not Approve NTT	49%	51	100	49
Member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	97%	3	100	35
Not Approve NTT	77%	23	100	13
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
Non-member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	52%	48	100	31
Not Approve NTT	25%	75	100	24
Member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	52%	48	100	21
Not Approve NTT	29%	71	100	7
e. Spending for Special Education				
Non-member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	36%	64	100	22
Not Approve NTT	14%	86	100	14
Member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	50%	50	100	16
Not Approve NTT	---	--	---	(2)

*NTT stands for New Teaching Techniques.

TABLE 4-9A (Continuation)

	Rating at Time 3			
			Totals	
	Positive	Other	%	N
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
Non-member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	12%	88	100	16
Not Approve NTT	---	--	---	(4)
Member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	70%	30	100	10
Not Approve NTT	---	--	---	(2)
Less Than Positive Rating: Time 1				
P.T.A. Membership				
New Teaching Techniques Attitudes				
a. Rating of Schools				
Non-member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	27%	73	100	60
Not Approve NTT	22%	78	100	73
Member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	33%	67	100	24
Not Approve NTT	14%	86	100	14
b. Educational Ideology				
Non-member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	8%	92	100	59
Not Approve NTT	13%	87	100	79
Member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	33%	67	100	30
Not Approve NTT	7%	93	100	14
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
Non-member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	42%	58	100	33
Not Approve NTT	40%	60	100	48
Member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	54%	46	100	13
Not Approve NTT	---	--	---	(5)
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
Non-member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	17%	83	100	53
Not Approve NTT	26%	74	100	74
Member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	26%	74	100	27
Not Approve NTT	45%	55	100	11

TABLE 4-9A (Continuation)

	Rating at Time 3			
			Totals	
	Positive	Other	%	N
e. Spending for Special Education				
Non-member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	20%	80	100	64
Not Approve NTT	4%	96	100	83
Member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	19%	81	100	32
Not Approve NTT	19%	81	100	16
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
Non-member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	3%	97	100	70
Not Approve NTT	2%	98	100	94
Member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	13%	87	100	38
Not Approve NTT	6%	94	100	16

TABLE 4-9B

RELATIONSHIP OF P.T.A. STATUS AND NEW TEACHING TECHNIQUES ATTITUDES TO TIME 3 CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS BY TIME 1 SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS (SPRINGFIELD)

	Rating at Time 3			
			Totals	
	Positive	Other	%	N
Positive Rating: Time 1				
P.T.A. Membership				
New Teaching Techniques Attitudes				
a. Rating of Schools				
Non-member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	53%	47	100	38
Not Approve NTT*	36%	54	100	22
Member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	63%	37	100	35
Not Approve NTT	---	--	---	(5)
b. Educational Ideology				
Non-member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	33%	67	100	24
Not Approve NTT	57%	43	100	7
Member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	45%	55	100	22
Not Approve NTT	---	--	---	(2)
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
Non-member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	73%	27	100	66
Not Approve NTT	61%	39	100	44
Member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	85%	15	100	52
Not Approve NTT	100%	--	100	7
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
Non-member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	67%	33	100	39
Not Approve NTT	29%	71	100	31
Member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	60%	40	100	35
Not Approve NTT	50%	50	100	6
e. Spending for Special Education				
Non-member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	29%	71	100	21
Not Approve NTT	8%	92	100	13
Member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	47%	53	100	17
Not Approve NTT	---	--	---	(1)

*NTT stands for New Teaching Techniques.

TABLE 4-9B (Continuation)

	Rating at Time 3		Totals	
	Positive	Other	%	N
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
Non-member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	29%	71	100	7
Not Approve NTT	---	--	---	(5)
Member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	33%	67	100	6
Not Approve NTT	---	--	---	(1)
Less Than Positive Rating: Time 1				
P.T.A. Membership				
New Teaching Techniques Attitudes				
a. Rating of Schools				
Non-member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	27%	73	100	67
Not Approve NTT	24%	76	100	71
Member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	27%	73	100	26
Not Approve NTT	33%	67	100	6
b. Educational Ideology				
Non-member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	22%	78	100	76
Not Approve NTT	12%	88	100	76
Member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	15%	85	100	39
Not Approve NTT	---	100	100	7
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism				
Non-member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	51%	49	100	39
Not Approve NTT	33%	67	100	49
Member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	80%	20	100	10
Not Approve NTT	---	--	---	(4)
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness				
Non-member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	29%	71	100	66
Not Approve NTT	16%	84	100	62
Member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	37%	63	100	27
Not Approve NTT	---	--	---	(5)

TABLE 4-9B (Continuation)

	Rating at Time 3		Totals	
	Positive	Other	%	N
e. Spending for Special Education				
Non-member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	13%	87	100	83
Not Approve NTT	4%	96	100	80
Member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	20%	80	100	45
Not Approve NTT	50%	70	100	10
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens				
Non-member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	11%	89	100	98
Not Approve NTT	3%	97	100	88
Member P.T.A.				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	4%	96	100	56
Not Approve NTT	---	100	100	10

More importantly, when the control is on P.T.A. membership, that is, when sets of citizens are compared who differ in their new teaching techniques attitudes but who are similar in being either members or non-members of P.T.A., we find that in the vast majority of cases the new teaching techniques attitudes-school orientations effects are maintained. Only in regard to improvement of initially less than positive orientations in Eugene does the introduction of the variable P.T.A. status reduce the number of times improvement in such orientations occurs with approval of new teaching techniques--to six of the twelve instances.

It is not particularly surprising that P.T.A. membership makes the greatest impact in both cities in the direction of maintaining the trusting sense of citizens that their school officials would understand if they had a problem and do what they could about it rather than try to avoid doing anything or ignoring the request (Table 4-9). It is revealing, however, to note that attitudes towards new teaching techniques makes a comparable contribution to the maintenance of such a sense of trust. Non-members of P.T.A. in Eugene who approve of new teaching techniques maintain such a sense of official responsiveness almost to the same extent as do P.T.A. members who do not approve of such innovations. In Springfield P.T.A. membership is the more important factor, but approval of new teaching techniques among non-members of P.T.A. does make for more maintenance of that sense of trust than occurs among non-members who do not approve such innovations.

We shall in passing and precedent to a later discussion of social class and attitudes towards educational innovations mention something of the interaction of social class, attitudes towards new teaching techniques, and change-stability in school orientations. It will be recalled that the data had indicated that in only two cases of the latter did educational level relate to maintenance of positive school orientations in Eugene (Table 4-8). In Springfield the same two school orientations variables were the most affected by educational level relative to maintenance of positive orientations (Table 4-8). In Eugene it was the highly educated who maintained their positive "very good" rating of the schools much more than either the low or medium educated, while in Springfield there was a direct, linear relationship between educational level and such maintenance of a very good rating.

Restricting our attention here to that rating of the schools variable, it can be seen from Table 4-10 that such relationships depend in some measure on such variables as attitudes towards new teaching techniques. Specifically, in Eugene the poorly educated citizens who initially rated the schools as very good and who approved of new teaching techniques maintain that positive rating as much as do the highly educated citizens who had comparably positive initial ratings but who did not approve of such teaching techniques. A similar phenomenon occurs with the medium educated compared to the highly educated. In Springfield the identical pattern is found.

This does not mean that educational level plays no role in maintaining positive ratings of the schools. There is a relatively strong relationship between educational level and maintenance of such orientations among those who approve of new teaching techniques (a linear relationship in Springfield and a highly educated-others discontinuity in Eugene). And it should be understood that in both communities the poorly educated are much less likely than the highly educated to have had initially positive ratings of the schools. Thus, social class status is likely to produce both differential ratings of the schools at a moment in time and differential degrees of reinforcement of such positive

TABLE 4-10

RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS NEW TEACHING TECHNIQUES TO TIME 3 RATING OF SCHOOLS BY TIME 1 RATING OF SCHOOLS AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

	Rating at Time 3		Totals	
Positive Rating of Schools:				
Time 1, Eugene	**Positive**	**Other**	**%**	**N**
Educational Level				
New Teaching Techniques Attitudes				
Rating of Schools				
Low Education				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	50%	50	100	6
Not Approve NTT*	22%	78	100	9
Medium Education				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	45%	55	100	11
Not Approve NTT	23%	77	100	13
High Education				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	72%	18	100	32
Not Approve NTT	43%	57	100	7
Positive Rating of Schools:				
Time 1, Springfield				
Educational Level				
New Teaching Techniques Attitudes				
Rating of Schools				
Low Education				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	38%	62	100	21
Not Approve NTT	38%	62	100	8
Medium Education				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	53%	47	100	34
Not Approve NTT	43%	57	100	14
High Education				
Approve New Teaching Techniques	89%	11	100	18
Not Approve NTT	---	--	----	(5)

*NTT stands for New Teaching Techniques.

orientations over time--the latter due to the apparently stronger, more crystallized positive evaluations on the part of upper class citizens who are pro-innovation as compared to the more fragile high evaluative sentiments of lower class citizens of similar pro-innovative attitudes. In addition, the relatively few upper class citizens who do not approve new teaching techniques seem to have as volatile a reaction in their ratings of the schools as do citizens of lower class status.

What we have found, though, points to an appreciateion of the social psychological meanings and implications of social class status. Social class status as indexed by educational level (or such other dimensions as income and occupation) does not automatically determine degrees of change or stability in school orientations, and, indeed, it is inconsequential for most such orientations. Such indicators of social class as educational level do not mean that orientations such as school ratings are bounded by and do not cross class lines nor do they mean that class status is as useful or predictive a fact for such orientations as indicators of innovative sets of mind such as attitudes towards new teaching techniques. We shall pursue this matter further in a later section. Now we turn from perspectives about the schools to a consideration of the possible role of new teaching techniques attitudes as well as the same four status variables in such action patterns as are implied by voting intentions to support or oppose the schools in an election on the basic operating budget, an even more immediate and fateful indication of citizen support for or opposition to the schools than the school orientations discussed so far.

Attitudes Towards New Teaching Techniques, Social Class, Parental, P.T.A., and Participant Status as Related to School Budget Voting Intentions

It will be recalled that there were positive relationships in both Eugene and Springfield between each of the citizen school orientations variables as measured at Time 3 and voting intentions in the school budget elections at Time 3 (Table 2-1, Chapter II). Those data were presented to establish that the six school orientations variables selected for dependent variables actually related to such a matter as intentions to cast affirmative or negative votes on the sine qua non of an operating school system: its basic operating budget. It has now been demonstrated that attitudes towards new teaching techniques apparently related to such school orientations and to the maintenance and improvement of supportive orientations over time. It remains to be seen whether such new teaching techniques attitudes also related to those Time 3 voting intentions, and, if so, whether any of the four status variables may have been affecting such a relationship.

An even more compelling argument might be developed to the effect that such factors as social class, parental, P.T.A. and participant status are more likely to relate to voting support or opposition to school budgets than is the case of more passive, psychological school orientations. That argument would be undergirded by references to the hosts of studies that have revealed the greatest voter support for local governmental budgets and money measures of various kinds among those of higher than of lower social class standing apart from the other three statuses. We shall, however, put such arguments to the test of the field research data.

As a first step in this part of the analysis we shall inquire whether patterns of change or stability in school orientations related to voting intentions, for it is one thing for such orientations to relate to voting intentions at a moment in time and quite another thing for the over-time patterns of orientations to affect voting intentions. If equally good predictions of Time 3 voting intentions can be generated from a knowledge of Time 3 school orientations, for example, as are possible from a knowledge of Time 1 to Time 3 patterns of orientations, it would be less useful to obtain the over-time measurements of orientations and, more importantly, not particularly useful in that connection to have found that the over-time patterns of school orientations were shaped by new teaching techniques attitudes.

An hypothesis dealing with the relevance of the patterns of stability or change in school orientations and voting intentions is as follows:

> H_{29}: Citizens whose orientations towards the schools had improved or deteriorated would be less supportive of a school budget than would fans of the schools who remained so over time and more supportive of the school budget than would non-fans who remained so over time in both Eugene and Springfield.

The findings indicate striking support for that prediction in both communities (Table 4-11). Although there are some exceptions, stability or change in these citizen orientations does make a difference insofar as school budget voting intentions are concerned.

One way to view these data is from the point of view of reliability of instruments or measurements. Those who remained fans or non-fans over time (from Time 1 to Time 3) were ordinarily the ones most likely to provide the most support for or opposition to the school budget, as the case may be, because such constancy constitutes a more

TABLE 4-11

RELATIONSHIP OF TIME 1-3 STABILITY-CHANGE PATTERNS OF CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS TO TIME 3 VOTING INTENTIONS (EUGENE)

Patterns of School Orientations: Time 1-3*	Time 3 Voting Intentions				
	For	Against	Not Sure	Totals %	Totals N
a. Rating of Schools					
Positive-Positive	50%	34	16	100	38
Positive-Negative	32%	50	18	100	40
Negative-Positive	29%	56	15	100	41
Negative-Negative	26%	53	21	100	128
b. Educational Ideology†					
Positive-Positive	65%	27	8	100	51
Positive-Negative	38%	46	17	101	24
Negative-Positive	35%	38	26	99	34
Negative-Negative	18%	62	20	100	95
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism					
Positive-Positive	45%	38	17	100	104
Positive-Negative	18%	66	16	100	38
Negative-Positive	34%	46	20	100	41
Negative-Negative	11%	68	21	100	47
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness					
Positive-Positive	49%	37	14	100	35
Positive-Negative	37%	42	21	100	43
Negative-Positive	39%	45	16	100	31
Negative-Negative	26%	59	15	100	114
e. Spending for Special Education					
Positive-Positive	42%	40	18	100	132
Positive-Negative	8%	73	20	101	51
Negative-Positive	39%	39	23	101	31
Negative-Negative	18%	67	15	100	33
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens					
Positive-Positive	60%	24	16	100	50
Positive-Negative	25%	60	16	101	57
Negative-Positive	26%	52	22	100	27
Negative-Negative	23%	57	20	100	113

*Positive indicates that the alternative selected was that classified as positive in the previous tables for School Orientations variables a., c., and d. To increase the numbers in the positive categories, those scoring one point were added to those scoring zero, i.e., Progressive or positive, and the approve were added to the strongly approve for the positive category for e. and f. (footnotes continued next page)

TABLE 4-11 (Continuation)

RELATIONSHIP OF TIME 1-3 STABILITY-CHANGE PATTERNS OF CITIZEN SCHOOL ORIENTATIONS TO TIME 3 VOTING INTENTIONS (SPRINGFIELD)

Patterns of School Orientations: Time 1-3	Time 3 Voting Intentions			Totals	
	For	Against	Not Sure	%	N
a. Rating of Schools					
Positive-Positive	47%	37	16	100	51
Positive-Negative	21%	60	19	100	48
Negative-Positive	30%	55	16	101	44
Negative-Negative	23%	59	19	101	124
b. Educational Ideology					
Positive-Positive	46%	28	26	100	46
Positive-Negative	34%	58	8	100	38
Negative-Positive	32%	50	18	100	38
Negative-Negative	22%	63	14	99	103
c. School Decision-maker Cynicism					
Positive-Positive	43%	39	19	101	124
Positive-Negative	15%	75	10	100	40
Negative-Positive	29%	51	20	100	45
Negative-Negative	6%	73	20	99	49
d. Conception of School Officials' Responsiveness					
Positive-Positive	47%	34	19	100	59
Positive-Negative	21%	62	17	100	52
Negative-Positive	38%	41	21	100	39
Negative-Negative	18%	65	16	99	110
e. Spending for Special Education					
Positive-Positive	38%	42	19	99	160
Positive-Negative	18%	63	20	101	51
Negative-Positive	14%	67	19	100	21
Negative-Negative	6%	89	6	101	35
f. Increasing Taxes for Public Kindergartens					
Positive-Positive	47%	31	22	100	49
Positive-Negative	21%	61	18	100	61
Negative-Positive	28%	58	14	100	36
Negative-Negative	24%	60	17	101	121

[†] Positive for the Educational Ideology variable means that respondents so-classified were not censorious but, rather, approving of a perceived progressive orientation of the public schools' approach.

more reliable indicator of such sentiments than one measurement alone. Those who became fans or non-fans from one point in time to another were those for whom the Time 1 measurements were less reliable. While that is true, the fact that such stability and change was related to attitudes towards new teaching techniques and was not simply statistical regression nor random change on the part of otherwise identical citizens makes it more than simply a matter of measurement reliability. Since such innovation orientations affect stability or changeability of general support or opposition to the schools over time they also affect the degree of specific support or opposition as reflected in school election voting intentions.

It is possible to show how such attitudes towards new teaching techniques relate to such school budget voting intentions at Time 3. The hypothesis summarizing that relationship is as follows:

> H_{30}: Attitudes towards new teaching techniques are related to school budget voting intentions in both Eugene and Springfield.

The data indicate support for that hypothesis (Table 4-12). There is a strong, linear relationship between the two variables such that support for the budget increases steadily from overwhelming opposition among those citizens disapproving of new teaching techniques through somewhat lessened but still substantial opposition among those citizens undecided about such new teaching techniques to a less than 2:1 opposition to support margin among those citizens approving such new teaching techniques to an actually favorable support to opposition ratio among those who strongly approve such innovations.

Turning now to the four status variables, Hypotheses 31-34 represent comparable statements of expected relationships.

H_{31}: Social class status is positively associated with supportive school budget voting intentions in both Eugene and Springfield.

H_{32}: Parental status is positively associated with supportive school budget voting intentions in both Eugene and Springfield.

H_{33}: P.T.A. status is positively associated with supportive school budget voting intentions in both Eugene and Springfield.

H_{34}: Participation in school affairs is positively associated with supportive school budget voting intentions in both Eugene and Springfield.

We find that in all four cases the variable does relate to voting intentions in the expected direction (Tables 4-13 through 4-16).

The key hypothesis then becomes:

H_{35}: Attitudes towards new teaching techniques are related to school budget voting intentions in both Eugene and Springfield regardless of social class, parental, P.T.A. and participant status.

The data clearly support that hypothesis for both communities (Tables 4-17 through 4-20). A few examples shall suffice to indicate how important new teaching techniques attitudes as well as these status variables are in shaping voting intentions.

The highly educated citizens of Eugene and Springfield who were undecided about new teaching techniques as well as the highly educated citizens of Eugene who actually disapproved of them were not only less supportive of the school budget than poorly educated citizens in their cities who approved of new teaching techniques but no more supportive than poorly educated citizens who were undecided about such innovations. Citizens of both communities with children in the public schools were overwhelmingly opposed to the budget if they disapproved of new teaching techniques whereas citizens with no children or with children beyond school age were much more supportive if they approved new teaching

TABLE 4-12

RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDES TOWARD NEW TEACHING TECHNIQUES TO SCHOOL BUDGET VOTING INTENTIONS: TIME 3

Community	Time 3 Voting Intentions				
Attitude Toward New Teaching Techniques	For	Against	Not Sure	Totals %	N
Eugene					
Strongly Approve	48%	34	18	100	44
Approve	37%	43	19	99	129
Undecided	20%	52	27	99	103
Disapprove*	7%	89	4	100	28
Springfield					
Strongly Approve	55%	25	20	100	44
Approve	32%	47	21	100	167
Undecided	14%	65	21	100	80
Disapprove	3%	97	--	100	32

* Disapprove includes both the Strongly Disapprove and Disapprove alternatives.

TABLE 4-13

RELATIONSHIP OF EDUCATIONAL LEVEL TO SCHOOL BUDGET VOTING INTENTIONS: TIME 3

	Voting Intentions: Time 3				
Community Educational Level	For	Against	Not Sure	Totals %	N
Eugene					
Low	23%	63	14	100	83
Medium	26%	44	30	100	113
High	37%	48	15	100	126
Springfield					
Low	21%	58	21	100	149
Medium	30%	50	20	100	123
High	37%	50	13	100	62

TABLE 4-14

RELATIONSHIP OF PARENTAL STATUS TO SCHOOL BUDGET VOTING INTENTIONS

TIME 3

Community Parental Status	Voting Intentions: Time 3 For	 Against	 Not Sure	Totals %	 N
Eugene					
No Children	20%	59	22	101	46
Children Beyond School Age	25%	57	17	99	110
Pre-schoolers Only	22%	39	39	100	18
School Age Children	38%	45	17	100	140
Springfield					
No Children	15%	59	26	100	27
Children Beyond School Age	20%	66	14	100	115
Pre-schoolers Only	35%	58	8	99	26
School Age Children	33%	43	24	100	164

TABLE 4-15

RELATIONSHIP OF PTA STATUS TO SCHOOL BUDGET VOTING INTENTIONS

Community PTA Status	Voting Intentions For	 Against	 Not Sure	Totals %	 N
Eugene					
Non-member	24%	54	23	101	39
PTA Member	38%	45	17	100	42
Regularly Attend PTA	54%	37	10	101	41
Springfield					
Non-member	23%	58	19	100	259
PTA Member	39%	39	21	99	33
Regularly Attend PTA	42%	40	18	100	40

TABLE 4-16

RELATIONSHIP OF SCHOOL PARTICIPATION TO SCHOOL BUDGET VOTING INTENTIONS

Community	Voting Intentions				
School Participation	For	Against	Not Sure	Totals	
				%	N
Eugene					
1(Low)	20%	53	27	100	55
2	25%	57	19	101	171
3	43%	36	21	100	61
4(High)	48%	36	15	99	33
Springfield					
1(Low)	16%	64	20	100	88
2	26%	56	18	100	160
3	38%	42	20	100	55
4(High)	52%	26	22	100	23

TABLE 4-17

RELATIONSHIP OF EDUCATIONAL LEVEL TO SCHOOL BUDGET VOTING INTENTIONS BY ATTITUDES TOWARDS NEW TEACHING TECHNIQUES

Educational Level	Eugene Voting Intentions				
Attitudes Towards New Teaching Techniques	For	Against	Not Sure	Totals %	N
Low Education					
Approve NTT*	38%	50	12	100	32
Undecided NTT	19%	62	19	100	37
Disapprove NTT	--	93	7	100	14
Medium Education					
Approve NTT	28%	42	30	100	53
Undecided NTT	24%	43	33	100	54
Disapprove NTT	17%	83	--	100	6
High Education					
Approve NTT	48%	38	15	101	88
Undecided NTT	13%	67	20	100	30
Disapprove NTT	12%	88	--	100	8

Educational Level	Springfield Voting Intentions				
Attitudes Towards New Teaching Techniques					
Low Education					
Approve NTT	33%	42	25	100	76
Undecided NTT	12%	68	20	100	50
Disapprove NTT	--	100	--	100	21
Medium Education					
Approve NTT	37%	42	21	100	81
Undecided NTT	21%	58	21	100	33
Disapprove NTT	--	100	--	100	8
High Education					
Approve NTT	43%	47	10	100	51
Undecided NTT	--	67	33	100	9
Disapprove NTT	--	--	--	---	(2)

*NTT stands for New Teaching Techniques

TABLE 4-18

RELATIONSHIP OF PARENTAL STATUS TO SCHOOL BUDGET VOTING INTENTIONS BY ATTITUDES TOWARDS NEW TEACHING TECHNIQUES IN EUGENE AND SPRINGFIELD

Parental Status	Eugene Voting Intentions				
Attitudes Towards New Teaching Techniques	For	Against	Not Sure	Totals %	N
No Children					
Approve NTT*	40%	47	13	100	15
Undecided NTT	10%	62	28	100	29
Disapprove NTT	--	--	--	---	(2)
Children Beyond School Age					
Approve NTT	25%	43	22	100	46
Undecided NTT	23%	57	19	99	47
Disapprove NTT	6%	94	--	100	17
Pre-schoolers Only					
Approve NTT	40%	40	20	100	10
Undecided NTT	--	38	62	100	8
Disapprove NTT	--	--	--	---	(0)
School-Age Children					
Approve NTT	43%	40	16	99	97
Undecided NTT	29%	50	21	100	34
Disapprove NTT	11%	78	11	100	9
	Springfield Voting Intentions				
No Children					
Approve NTT	25%	38	38	101	16
Undecided NTT	--	88	12	100	88
Disapprove NTT	--	--	--	---	(3)
Children Beyond School Age					
Approve NTT	30%	55	14	99	56
Undecided NTT	12%	68	20	100	41
Disapprove NTT	6%	94	--	100	18
Pre-schoolers Only					
Approve NTT	43%	48	10	101	21
Undecided NTT	--	--	--	---	(5)
Disapprove NTT	--	--	--	---	(1)
School-Age Children					
Approve NTT	41%	35	24	100	117
Undecided NTT	21%	53	26	100	38
Disapprove NTT	--	100	--	100	10

*NTT stands for New Teaching Techniques

TABLE 4-19

RELATIONSHIP OF PTA STATUS TO SCHOOL BUDGET VOTING INTENTIONS BY ATTITUDES TOWARDS NEW TEACHING TECHNIQUES

PTA Status	Eugene Voting Intentions				
Attitudes Towards New Teaching Techniques	For	Against	Not Sure	Totals %	N
Non-members					
Approve NTT*	31%	47	21	99	112
Undecided NTT	18%	53	29	100	99
Disapprove NTT	5%	90	5	100	21
PTA Members					
Approve NTT	48%	31	21	100	29
Undecided NTT	20%	70	10	100	10
Disapprove NTT	--	--	--	---	(3)
Regularly Attend PTA					
Approve NTT	62%	28	10	100	29
Undecided NTT	33%	56	11	100	9
Disapprove NTT	--	--	--	---	(3)

PTA Status	Springfield Voting Intentions				
Attitudes Towards New Teaching Techniques					
Non-members					
Approve NTT	32%	46	22	100	138
Undecided NTT	12%	67	21	100	81
Disapprove NTT	3%	97	--	100	31
PTA Members					
Approve NTT	36%	43	21	100	28
Undecided NTT	--	--	--	---	(5)
Disapprove NTT	--	--	--	---	(0)
Regularly Attend PTA					
Approve NTT	50%	35	15	100	34
Undecided NTT	--	--	--	---	(5)
Disapprove NTT	--	--	--	---	(1)

*NTT stands for New Teaching Techniques

TABLE 4-20
RELATIONSHIP OF SCHOOL PARTICIPATION TO SCHOOL BUDGET VOTING INTENTIONS BY ATTITUDES TOWARDS NEW TEACHING TECHNIQUES

School Participation	Eugene Voting Intentions				
Attitudes Towards New Teaching Techniques	For	Against	Not Sure	Totals	
Low Participation*					
Approve NTT†	24%	54	23	101	89
Undecided NTT	19%	55	26	100	104
Disapprove NTT	9%	91	--	100	23
Medium Participation					
Approve NTT	49%	32	19	100	47
Undecided NTT	27%	45	27	99	11
Disapprove NTT	--	--	--	---	(3)
High Participation					
Approve NTT	56%	30	15	101	27
Undecided NTT	--	--	--	---	(5)
Disapprove NTT	--	--	--	---	(1)

School Participation	Springfield Voting Intentions				
Attitudes Towards New Teaching Techniques					
Low Participation					
Approve NTT	33%	46	21	100	146
Undecided NTT	12%	67	21	100	81
Disapprove NTT	--	100	--	100	29
Medium Participation					
Approve NTT	40%	38	22	100	45
Undecided NTT	38%	50	12	100	8
Disapprove NTT	--	--	--	---	(2)
High Participation					
Approve NTT	58%	26	16	100	19
Undecided NTT	--	--	--	---	(3)
Disapprove NTT	--	--	--	---	(1)

*Low participation signifies zero or one point on the three point participation index, medium signifies two points, and high signifies three points.

†NTT stands for New Teaching Techniques.

techniques. Among the poorly educated citizens of both communities who were not members of P.T.A., obvious minority support of the budget among those who approved of new teaching techniques turned into almost complete opposition on the part of those non-members who disapproved of such innovations. The same phenomenon occurred in the case of participation in school affairs.

What we have found, then, is that orientations towards new teaching techniques are shaped by such variables as social class, parental, P.T.A., and participant status but that when the correlation is not perfect, and it is far from being perfect, new teaching techniques attitudes exerts a strong independent effect on school budget intentions in both communities. Such innovation sentiments thus work to affect voting behavior indirectly through their impacts on the more general school orientations of the kind discussed earlier and the relationships that such orientations have over time to voting intentions and directly on voting intentions themselves.

Parenthetically, the same kinds of effects are found in the case of attitudes towards the Eugene Project per se in that community. The four status variables obviously relate to voting intentions as reported in Tables 4-13 through 4-16. Although there were relatively few citizens who disapproved of the Eugene Project, there is a substantial difference in support and opposition to the Eugene Project as a function of approval-uncertainty differences in attitudes towards that Project. Because of the narrower range in the distributions of those attitudes than in the case of new teaching techniques generally, the impacts of the latter attitudes are more consequential on voting intentions in Eugene than are the former and obviously more consequential in Springfield where awareness of the project in the neighboring city is restricted and where the distribution of attitudes towards that Project is even more skewed.

Before leaving this section, we shall comment on the relationship of two other variables to voting intentions. The first is chronological age--which related as noted to the variable of parental status. There were only very weak relationships of age to voting intentions in both cities. In Eugene the only age category wherein a plurality were for the budget (instead of being against or not sure) were citizens in the 35 to 44 years of age bracket and in Springfield that same category was more supportive of the budget than any other age category even though more of those citizens were against than for. In other words, it was not the youngest adults (i.e., those under 35 years of age) who were most supportive of the school budget. In Eugene it was the same 35 to 44 year category that was most approving of new teaching techniques with those over 55 years of age least approving. In Springfield it was the young adults under 35 years of age who most approved of new teaching techniques while the same older citizens were also least approving.

Still another variable that related strongly to school budget voting intentions was attitude towards increasing local taxes to improve "city services." That municipal tax orientation seems to be part and parcel of a more general fiscal and policy outlook is suggested by the fact that its relationship to school budget voting intentions was extremely strong. We may express that relationship in the following hypothesis which is confirmed in both cities (Table 4-21):

H_{36}: Attitudes towards increasing local taxes to improve city services is positively associated with school budget intentions in both Eugene and Springfield.

TABLE 4-21

RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDE TOWARDS INCREASING TAXES TO IMPROVE CITY SERVICES TO SCHOOL BUDGET VOTING INTENTIONS

Attitudes Towards Increasing Taxes to Improve City Services	Voting Intentions			Totals	
	For	Against	Undecided	%	N
Eugene					
Strongly Approve	60%	20	--	100	15
Approve	58%	23	20	101	92
Undecided	20%	38	42	100	79
Disapprove	11%	78	11	100	89
Strongly Disapprove	7%	84	9	100	45
Springfield					
Strongly Approve	56%	11	33	100	9
Approve	49%	35	16	100	81
Undecided	32%	35	32	99	77
Disapprove	15%	68	16	99	104
Strongly Disapprove	8%	85	7	100	60

When attitude towards local tax increases to improve city services is held constant, we find that with but one exception the following hypothesis is confirmed:

H_{37}: Attitudes towards new teaching techniques are related to school budget voting intentions in both Eugene and Springfield regardless of attitudes towards increasing local taxes to improve city services. (Table 4-22)

It makes no difference what one's attitude towards new teaching techniques is like among those citizens of Eugene who approve of the idea of increasing taxes to improve city services; in fact, there is a smaller proportion against the school budget among those who are undecided about new teaching techniques than there is among those who approve of them. Otherwise, however, attitudes towards new teaching techniques makes quite a bit of difference among citizens who feel similarly about local tax increases for the purpose of improving city services. Even among those who disapprove of the latter notion, approval of such educational modernization innovations makes a substantial difference in the degree to which citizens of both communities are prepared to cast ballots in favor of school budgets that require substantial local property tax increases in Eugene and modest increases in Springfield. We can see from the foregoing tests of hypotheses that the innovation variable, attitudes towards new teaching techniques, is of substantial consequence in shaping intentions to give or withhold support from the schools in the most crucial matter of passing or defeating the basic operating budget of the schools. We are not dealing with an orientation that is simply an interesting dimension shaping attention or conversation about public school affairs nor that is an inconsequential by-product of such substantial factors as one's own prior consumption of education and social class values about education or of the immediate interest that parents may have in improving

TABLE 4-22

RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS NEW TEACHING TECHNIQUES TO SCHOOL BUDGET VOTING INTENTIONS BY ATTITUDES TOWARDS INCREASING TAXES TO IMPROVE CITY SERVICES: TIME 3

Increase Local Taxes to Improve City Services	Eugene Voting Intentions				
	For	Against	Not Sure	Totals %	N
Attitudes Towards New Teaching Techniques					
Approve Local Tax Increase To Improve City Services					
Approve NTT*	61%	24	15	100	79
Undecided NTT	62%	12	25	99	24
Disapprove NTT	--	--	--	---	(4)
Undecided Local Tax Increase To Improve City Services					
Approve NTT	28%	34	38	100	32
Undecided NTT	17%	37	46	100	41
Disapprove NTT	--	--	--	---	(4)
Disapprove Local Tax Increase To Improve City Services					
Approve NTT	19%	69	12	100	59
Undecided NTT	4%	85	11	100	55
Disapprove NTT	--	95	5	100	20
	Springfield Voting Intentions				
Approve Local Tax Increase To Improve City Services					
Approve NTT	56%	24	20	100	66
Undecided NTT	36%	50	14	100	22
Disapprove NTT	--	--	--	---	(2)
Undecided Local Tax Increase To Improve City Services					
Approve NTT	46%	26	28	100	54
Undecided NTT	--	59	41	100	17
Disapprove NTT	--	--	--	---	(3)
Disapprove Local Tax Increase To Improve City Services					
Approve NTT	18%	69	13	100	85
Undecided NTT	10%	73	17	100	52
Disapprove NTT	4%	96	--	100	26

*NTT stands for New Teaching Techniques

education for their own children or of the kinds of perspectives that might be expected from participating with others who are subject to pro-innovation propaganda in P.T.A. and other school participation settings. We are dealing with a fundamental social psychological dimension that cuts across all of those important attributes of citizen life to the point of shaping individual voting action that constitutes crucial decisional activities in the functioning of the community's public school system.

Cultural Class and School Perspectives

Traditionally, the concept of social or socio-economic class has been a powerful tool for the analysis of socio-political behavior and for the construction of socio-political theory. It not only has played a significant role in Marxist theory but also as an explanatory variable in the analyses of socio-political life by sociologists and political scientists in the United States.

Its root meaning is relatively simple. Marxists and such social scientists as Max Weber tended to think of it as denoting a person's roles and functions in the economic organization of society and at the same time as connoting a variety of social and political actions and perspectives associated with such economic roles. In relatively strict or purist sociological senses, social class has come to be thought of as indicative of a variety of social interactions-values shared by categories and groups of citizens differentiated according to the amount of such values as deference, respect, manners and other socially-recognized and rewarded facts of life. Those interactions-values refer to such domains of community or society life as participation in family and friendship groups and the associated production, distribution, and consumption of the affectionate and other kinds of values generated and interchanged in such settings. They include participation in the complex of larger voluntary associations and organizations, ranging from bridge clubs to businessmen's luncheon clubs to country clubs. Investigations have been made of the extent and kind of shaping of such social class patterns by the fundamental fact of occupation and relationship to the means of production. Whether social class categories and groups are relatively discrete or overlapping and whether the nexus between the social and the economic--as well as the political--spheres of life is close or distant, the concept has produced knowledge of an explanatory or predictive character for the student of human behavior.

Periodically there have been efforts made to use less indirect measures of people's actions and orientations than can frequently be inferred from the facts of social or socio-economic class position in order to improve such predictions as well as to narrow gaps that may exist between socio-economic facts and social psychological actions and perspectives. The present study represents an effort to refine and operationalize more adequately one such recent effort. The notion of cultural class has been introduced which represents the social-psychological directly rather than the facts of socio-economic position, although the two are recognizedly related to a greater or lesser extent empirically as well as theoretically. The sense of cultural class has been defined as referring to:

> people's self-images and feelings concerning how much status or respect their values, beliefs, opinions, judgments, and ideas receive from others.[13]

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[13] Ibid., p. 24.

Again:

> The sense of cultural class may be very general and refer to a host of matters or phenomena: political values, political beliefs, political opinions, political judgments, and ideas about the polity--the political culture--as well as matters of manners, morals, money and music.[14]

The cultural class structure or cultural class statuses may be regarded as the orderings, differentiations, and overlappings of citizens in terms of their values, beliefs, opinions, and ideas--in short, in terms of their perspectives about, orientations towards, or outlooks on their worlds.

One aspect of such a cultural class sytem with which we have been dealing is the degree to which citizens are disposed to accept or desire or approve of such educational innovations as new teaching techniques. We have seen that such factors as social class position as indexed by level of education do shape such orientations yet the overlap is far from perfect. We have also seen how citizens of different social class strata may share similar orientations towards such innovations, and that, when they do, their orientations and action dispositions (such as their school budget voting intentions) are more similar than their different social class statuses suggest. It is obvious that to the extent such factors as social class and cultural class diverge and to the extent that the latter factor operates somewhat independently of the former factor in generating citizen support, indifference, or opposition to various aspects of the functioning of the public school system, school policy-makers would be wise to reflect on the potential or actual political consequences of such facts as well as on the possibilities that there may be differentials in the extent to which and the manner in which changes can be made in the two factors. For example, it may or may not be easier to effect changes in attitudes towards new teaching techniques than to raise income levels. We have found already how the introduction of programs of new teaching techniques affects citizen support for their schools indirectly by generating more positive attitudes towards such innovations as citizens become aware of them at the same time that positive attitudes towards such innovations seem to be generated in the acculturation (socialization) processes of these communities and possibly by the emission of positive messages about them from extra-community sources.

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[14] *Ibid.*

It is now time to see whether such an apparently important aspect of cultural class as attitudes towards new teaching techniques is related to other, non-educational matters. The relationships between attitudes towards new teaching techniques and other such citizen school orientations as the six dealt with here demonstrate that such a cultural class outlook is not restricted to a pro-innovation orientation but is to some extent part and parcel of a more general pro-public school system perspective. That it is a component of a larger orientation domain is reflected in the following finding.

Attitudes towards new teaching techniques were assessed in a matrix of 15 items including the two school orientations variables: spending more money on special education and increasing taxes to provide public kindergartens and also the Eugene Project. In addition to the aforementioned "increasing taxes to provide improved city services" item, attitudes towards the following non-school programs, policies, or institutions were included in that matrix: labor unions in Eugene (Springfield); the city manager form of government; youth employment programs;

new buildings for local government; limited access expressways within the city; youth forestry camps; urban renewal; spending more money on sewers and drainage; youth and family counseling services; and public housing. A factor analysis was then performed to see to what extent attitudes towards these various matters clustered into related dimensions.

Attitudes towards new teaching techniques proved to be one of a set of four items with the highest intercorrelations or loadings on one dimension. Other items might have been included as belonging to that dimension but for our purposes here it suffices to settle on those four. (For example, the item with the fifth highest loading and that might have been included was the Eugene Project.) The other three items were: a) increasing taxes to provide improved city services; b) spending more money on special education; and c) increasing taxes to provide public kindergartens. Respondents in each city were then classified according to the degree to which they had relatively high or low loadings on that factor.

The following table indicates how strongly that factor related to school budget voting intentions (Table 4-23). The strength of the relationship resembles that between attitudes towards new teaching techniques alone and school budget voting intentions (Table 4-12, supra).

Because attitudes towards new teaching techniques appear on the same dimension as do the two educational fiscal orientations and the city services fiscal orientation, we have labeled that dimension the generalized civic improvement orientation. Those other three factors contained the following items: one contained youth employment programs, youth forestry camps, spending more money on sewers and drainage, and youth and family counseling services; a second consisted of public housing, labor unions in the community, and urban renewal; and the third contained the items

TABLE 4-23

RELATIONSHIP OF GENERALIZED CIVIC IMPROVEMENT ORIENTATION TO SCHOOL BUDGET VOTING INTENTIONS: TIME 3

Generalized Civic Improvement Orientation	Voting Intentions: Time 3					
	For	Against	Not Sure	Don't Know	Totals %	N
Eugene						
1 (Low)	68%	18	12	2	100	56
2	34%	34	29	3	100	76
3	18%	59	23	-	100	73
4 (High)	--	100	--	-	100	45
Springfield						
1 (Low)	61%	22	16	-	99	49
2	41%	31	25	3	100	75
3	14%	64	20	1	99	83
4 (High)	3%	90	5	2	100	64

limited access expressways within the city, the city manager form of government, and new buildings for local government.

The first of those factors seems to be primarily a concern with youth dimension, the third a pro-con local government dimension, and the second possibly a more traditional liberal-conservative orientation at the local community level. The predictive power of the generalized civic improvement orientation can be appreciated in the light of the failure of the other three factors, including the concern with youth dimension, to relate to voting intentions in the basic school budget election as strongly as the first factor.

In an effort to assess whether other psychological dimensions among school perspectives besides the generalized civic improvement orientation, and to a lesser extent the other factors isolated through the factor-analysis method just mentioned, constituted comparable components of cultural class predictive of school budget voting intentions the following technique was used. Respondents were asked whether various matters of public school policy would be best settled by a "Vote by citizens"; "Vote by school board"; or "decision by Superintendent and his staff." Among those matters was "locating new schools and their boundaries." That was a matter that had become a highly controversial issue in Eugene prior to the school budget election at Time 3.

It can be seen from Table 4-24 that in both cities those citizens who thought that the superintendent and his staff ought to make the decision were more supportive of the budget than those who thought that such policies ought to be decided by a vote either of the citizens or of the school board.

TABLE 4-24

RELATIONSHIP OF "RIGHT RULERS" IN SCHOOL SITE AND BOUNDARY DECISIONS TO SCHOOL BUDGET VOTING INTENTIONS: TIME 3

Community	Voting Intentions: Time 3				
"Right Rulers"	For	Against	Not Sure	Totals	
				%	N
Eugene					
Citizens	20%	55	25	100	127
School Board	35%	49	16	100	146
Superintendent-Staff	52%	30	18	100	60
More than One Checked	--	--	--	---	(5)
No Answer	--	58%	42	100	12
Springfield					
Citizens	26%	57	18	101	125
School Board	28%	54	18	100	157
Superintendent-Staff	42%	42	16	100	31
More than One Checked	--	--	--	---	(5)
No Answer	17%	67	17	101	12

that constitute at the same time constituent dimensions of cognitive-evaluative maps by which citizens of a polity, e.g., patrons of a school system, may be characterized--maps which serve to orient those citizens to school politics. It is quite possible to continue this kind of exploration to the point of identifying still other dimensions that constitute aspects of the psychological worlds of citizens and which not only locate some citizens as having similar sets of perspectives but serve an analyst in separating and categorizing citizens as in different strata in a so-called cultural class structure. Just as differential amounts of goods and services or social status permit such an analytic ordering of citizens into socio-economic class strata, differential cognitive-evaluative psychological viewpoints permit such an ordering of citizens into cultural class strata and simultaneously, by definition, into various cells on a political ideological matrix.

Because in a basic sense the search for such ordering dimensions is never-ending, we will continue to focus on a few of the dimensions treated so far. Rather than use the "right rulers" dimension, for example, we will rely more on the school decision-makers cynicism variable in the analysis that follows. One reason for doing so is that the latter dimension evidences a stronger relationship to school budget voting intentions than does the former. Yet the existence of a relationship between the "right rulers" dimension and such voting intentions along with the relationship between the "right rulers" dimension and school decision-maker cynicism increases our confidence that general psychological relationships to decision-makers are valid domains of people's mental worlds that affect such specific dispositions as voting intentions.

The dimension tapped by such items is somewhat different than the citizen school orientation dimension termed school decision-maker cynicism. The policy matters included the following in addition to the school location and boundary matter: dropping or adding courses, changing teachers' salaries, setting the school budget, hiring and firing teachers, and creating new programs and teaching techniques. It was possible to classify respondents on the basis of the patterns of their responses as primarily citizen decision-making oriented, school board oriented, superintendent and staff oriented. There was a strong relationship between those patterns and school decision-making cynicism. In both cities, for example, the citizen oriented were the least trustful of school officials, that is, they felt much less than others that school officials would understand their problem and do what they could about it. The imperfect correlation is evidenced by the feeling of trust on the part of almost 40 and 50 per cent of the citizen oriented in Eugene and Springfield, respectively, while about a quarter and a third of the superintendent-staff oriented were cynical about the reactions of school officials in the same two cities.

The dimension regarding the appropriate decision-makers might be termed the "right rulers" dimension. It can be regarded as another aspect of the content of cultural class, particularly of political cultural class, that distinguishes categories of citizens from one another. It has been treated elsewhere in terms of alternative responses to the general question: Who Should Rule? as one of the prime elements of political ideology, and it is so regarded here.[15] What we have been engaged in here is an identification of a variety of perspectives regarding the public school system

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[15] _Ibid._, pp. 19-24.

The data in this and earlier sections reveal a network of interconnected orientations each of which seems to contribute something to the readiness to act for or against the school budget. In an effort to assess the relative importance of attitudes towards new teaching techniques as a variable in its own right that shapes voting intentions we developed the following analytic procedure.[16] We selected five independent variables from among those discussed so far and conducted a partial correlation analysis to assess their respective contributions to the key dependent variable: school budget voting intentions. Those five variables included attitudes towards new teaching techniques, attitudes towards raising taxes to provide public kindergartens (treated earlier as a basic school orientations variable and as part of a factor termed the generalized civic improvement orientation that included new teaching techniques attitudes and other items), rating of the local public schools, school decision-maker cynicism, and educational level. For the purpose of this analysis, the data from the Time 3 Eugene and Springfield samples were combined into one data pool.

That analysis revealed that attitudes towards new teaching techniques and school decision-maker cynicism were most highly associated with voting intentions. The latter variable attenuated the association between the former variable and school budget voting intentions more than did any of the other variables. The analysis revealed that rating of the schools did almost nothing to affect the relationship between attitudes towards new teaching techniques and voting intentions. Social status as measured by level of education did very little more in the way of attenuating that relationship. Thus, we find that there were, indeed, differences in the strengths or degrees of relationship between and among various school perspectives dimensions and voting intentions. At the same time we find that the construction of particular social psychological dimensions, that is, current expressions of ways in which people relate themselves psychologically to their socio-political systems because of earlier social experiences, provides much more valid indicators of such immediate and important socio-political action predispositions as current school voting intentions than does position in the social system as presumably measured by such factors as the earlier acquisition of formal education.

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[16] See Appendix B.

Position in the social system is not without meaning in various ways, including the shaping and reshaping of the more immediate social psychological orientations of people. Yet we think that the analysis so far has demonstrated that understanding of both perspectives and action in school politics is deepened by an effort to deal with and measure those social psychological orientations including, in this case, attitudes towards new teaching techniques.

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CHAPTER V

THE COMING OF THE BUDGET ELECTION

In the last chapter (IV) we discussed the impact of attitudes towards new teaching techniques on school budget voting intentions, with the latter variable used primarily as a general index of the saliency of the former attitudes. In this chapter we shall go on to examine the actual election, and a series of other variables which had an impact on it, including the unanticipated hostility of an important segment of community opinion to the concrete budget proposal, and a serious dispute over the redrawing of attendance boundaries required by the opening of a new high school.

The Time 3 interviews were conducted in the period ranging from mid-March through late April, 1963. The last interview was taken almost the day of the May 6 school budget election. During this time few people, if any, voiced a public connection between what they thought was scattered dissention over the redrawn attendance boundary for the new high school and the upcoming budget election in Eugene. There was some criticism of the budget from those concerned with the proportionately much greater annual increase in the tax revenues being requested over the growth in number of students. For an increase of only 8 per cent in student enrollment the budget proposed to the voters for their approval was 18 per cent greater in dollar expenditures than the previous year's operating budget. The total operating budget for the 1963-64 school year was $10,404,300, of which almost 60 per cent was outside of the constitutional 6 per cent limitation. The

6 per cent limitation refers to the increase over the past year's local property tax-supported expenses which could be authorized by the school board without a vote of the people. Instead of permitting the 6 per cent to apply to the total sum raised by taxes during the past year, the base for the 6 per cent increase is calculated from the date of the enactment of the constitution provision, that is, 1916. Starting with the small school tax (slightly over $100,000) of that day, and adding an additional 6 per cent each year since then only brings the current figure up to $845,000 (of over $10,000,000 requested), clearly inadequate for operation of the schools even when state equalization funds are included. Adding to the complexity of the situation is the fact that the State Board of Education, prior to the vote, can give only a rough guess as to how much they will have available for the district. This forces the district to ask the voters for authorization to tax at a rate higher than might be necessary if the state has more funds at its disposal than expected. This in fact happened, the state providing the school district with approximately one million more than they had advised would be available. These two factors have the effect of requiring an annual budget election which presents the voters with a larger tax request than is likely to fall due. After the two 1963 budget defeats, with the specter that there would be less than half the funds required for maintenance of an adequate school program, the school board unsuccessfully tried twice to raise the amount within the 6 per cent limitation to a point which would obviate the need for a budget election for several years. Whether the voters were jealous of their right to participate in the budgetary process or whether some pro-school groups feared that inflation and growth would take place at a higher than 6 per cent rate thus requiring budget elections which had all the more chance of

being rejected if a new and ten times higher limitation was surpassed, is uncertain. Certainly the school board favored the amended limitation, but the chief opponent was a professor of economics at the state university, no less a supporter of expanding the educational program in the area. The two following school budget elections passed handily, the 1965 budget being approved overwhelmingly by the smallest proportion of voters to express themselves on the issue in some time. A popular election had been a long-standing annual feature of school district politics.

Several factors were cited in justification of this increase beyond the proportionate increase in enrollment. The Eugene Project is but one example among numerous others designed to increase the range of services given to presently enrolled students. Enlargement of the in-school counseling program is another. There were others, and typical of such special programs is their higher cost for complex equipment (such as teaching machines, audio-visual aids, closed and open circuit television) and highly trained personnel (including resource teachers and technicians to operate the new equipment). But these improvements are introduced gradually, and do not show up in a single year in a great enough magnitude to account for the disproportionate growth of budget over enrollment.

The sudden acceleration in the rate of disparity of 1963 over 1962 was a direct function of the addition of the new high school associated with the boundary dispute settled only shortly before publication of the budget, and of the demand for an increase in the minimum salary scale for teachers. The administration thought this was necessary if the district was going to compete for newly certificated graduates with the high-paying California districts. The demands made by the teachers were relatively modest. They asked for an increase of $500 in the starting salary, which had been $4,500. The budget committee, already fearing objections to a heavy expected tax increase, pared this down to a $300 increase. Another limiting factor influencing the decision to hold the increase to $300 was the argument, made by some members of the budget committee, for a merit pay scale which would shift increases in salaries to the top rather than the bottom. This shift was attractive to those who wanted a lower budget, not simply because they would be saved some tax dollars, but also out of a sympathy with a program which offered the same type of income incentives to extra effort with which they were familiar as businessmen.

It is important to note that at this early stage in the budgetary process the center of opposition to the proposed increase in the expenditures for the operating program came from businessmen who opposed the consequent increase in property taxes. It is most reasonable to expect that the greatest resistance to paying higher taxes will come from those whose property holdings and therefore, absolute tax assessments, are greatest. Thus a large property owner should be most hostile to an increase, and a small holder--say a householder--should be least sensitive, since an increase will only deprive him of ten or twenty dollars. In fact, the local newspaper, when describing the impact of a proposed tax increase, invariably translates the millage rate to the extra dollars that a person who owns a $15,000 house would have to pay. The rather large increase projected if the new budget were adopted would cost the owner of the proverbial $15,000 house just under $24.00 per year. As the local paper editorialized with reference to a very slightly reduced budget submitted for approval after the initial proposal had been rejected by the voters, it will be "only a modest tax increase--about equal to the cost of four cartons of cigarettes for the owner of a $10,000 home."[1]

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[1] Eugene Register Guard, May 19, 1963, editorial page.

Clearly, then, few citizens will begrudge their children or their neighbors' children an adequate education for so small a sum. Only those with larger sums at stake would resist the proposed budget increase. This is the expectation, one which recent studies call into doubt, but one which is still widely believed by local community leaderships, especially those responsible for drafting budgets which must win public approval before they can be implemented. One goal of this study has been to question precisely who votes his pocketbook, and who bases his vote in a budget election on other, non-financial considerations. Other studies have shown that voting opposition to increased taxes comes instead from low income areas for whom the marginal tax dollar is more critical, and that middle and upper income areas, who would be paying more absolute dollars with an increase in taxes, usually support programs of improvements in sewers and drainage, for urban renewal, capital improvements, and school budgets.[2]

But at this stage it was a small businessman on the school board who expressed his concern with the cost of special musical instruments (for the new high school which required a complete set of musical instruments for its band, there never being any doubt that a band is necessary to pipe the glories of the school athletic teams).

> He asserted that the district is buying too many expensive, sophisticated instruments to be used by only a few when it would be better off to buy less sophisticated instruments and get more children involved in the program . . . . He said he had consulted with "several people who are experts" in music and that on the basis of their advice he would "question the validity of a piccolo, an E flat clarinet, a sousaphone, and a tympani in a junior high school."[3]

The certified public accountant sitting on the budget committee (composed of the five school board members and an equal number of freeholders selected by the board) led the opposition to an increase in the base pay for teachers, writing some 200 people on this point and urging them to attend the budget committee meeting. The accountant's position was given cautious support in a long editorial in the influential local paper, a notable departure from a position which had rarely questioned any increase in taxes to provide for increased public services. After the first defeats of the budget the paper was to repeatedly urge the school board to resubmit the budget without a cut in the hope that the more responsible voter who had previously stayed home would realize the necessity of voting.

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[2] Boskoff and Zeigler found this to be the case in a suburb of Atlanta. See their Voting Patterns in a Local Election (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1964).

[3] Eugene Register Guard, February 12, 1963.

The rumblings within the budget committee climaxed at the legally required public hearing at which the budget was presented by the committee. The two hundred letters and the editorial support of close scrutiny resulted in a larger than average public turnout of one hundred-fifty to an event which the highly sophisticated reporter covering the education beat described as usually drawing "about the same crowd as a croquet match in the rain." The budget which was approved at this meeting provided for general expenditures of $10,404,300, an increase of some 18% over the current year.

It was roughly estimated that this would boost the tax rate 6.3 mills above the then current 67.4 mills, or almost 10 per cent. The remainder of the increase would come from an appreciation in the assessed valuation of local property, which would be sufficient to account for the growth in number of pupils. Thus the 10 per cent increase in the tax rate could be fairly well attributed to the increased salary for beginning teachers and to the cost of opening a new high school, plus the cost of expanding the level of services. The increased expense of a new high school must have jarred many who were already severely dissatisfied with the redrawing of boundaries required by the new building. They were now being asked to make increased payments for a school which because of its distance from their homes would greatly inconvenience them during the coming year.

But again the most vocal opposition to the budget at the public meeting came from the business community, not those hurt by the high school boundary decision. A leading and wealthy female property owner and mother-in-law of one of the major local builders argued that while she would like to see teachers get raises, "We cannot afford to pay them this much." ($4,800 instead of $4,500) The co-owner of the major soft-drink bottling firm and a strong supporter of the local state university alumni association pleaded that "There must be a limit to what we can afford."

What support there was at the meeting came from the board itself and from some professional and university people, not businessmen. The board gave only minimal public consideration to the problem of selling the budget to the voters, though privately they may have become concerned over the large turnout of questioning if not hostile citizens. The last budget defeat, which took place a dozen years earlier (1951) also came at the time of completion of a new high school, one which was strenuously questioned on account of its high per square foot cost and supposed frills such as a fireplace in a lounge room. That budget was turned down by a very narrow margin. This defeat was quickly rectified in a second election, and no other budget defeat could be remembered by anyone in this prosperous university and middle class community.

The budget hearing was held during the early stages of the interviewing process (April 4, 1963), so that most of the interviews were conducted after the public had the opportunity to learn of the budget details, including the cost to themselves as taxpayers. It is rather difficult to predict public reaction to the budget, however. Based on the vocal opposition reported in the paper, we might expect to find those with higher incomes, especially those deriving their income from property, against the budget, with the mass of the citizenry either unsure of their intentions, or in favor of increased financial support for education. There is an alternate hypothesis regarding voter predispositions towards the budget, which proceeds as follows.

While many of the higher income, property owning members of the community express their disfavor towards the possibility of steadily increasing tax rates, and do so primarily out of a desire to conserve their wealth, they confine their opposition primarily to one stage in the budgetary process. Segments of this class are typically represented on the committees and boards which determine the tax rate which is to be presented to the people. As there is at least one other body of opinion among the upper and middle class sectors in society, which is also represented on the budget committee, there is the likelihood of dissension. This other segment, dominated by professionals and salaried persons whose income does not come directly from their property holdings, supports education as the source of their own community standing, and as a critical factor in stimulating community growth which will open up expanding opportunities for them. This latter group comes close to the central ideology in America--community conservationism.[4] The former are more orthodox, property conscious conservatives. The balance of power swings to the community conservationists as the source of economic influence shifts from ownership of property to rank in a corporate or governmental bureaucracy.

In Eugene, for the present at least, the propertied, or old middle class, is a respected element in the community and can enforce some compromise through its members who sit on decision-making committees. The superintendent of schools in Eugene at the time of the budget election was the spokeman, though not necessarily by design of the professional and managerial sectors of society. His program strongly emphasized curricular and teaching improvements (of the type characterizing the Eugene Project) leading eventually to better preparation for college for the sons of the new middle class which cannot inherit their fathers' position without accumulating their fathers' skills. These programs become ever more costly as the skills required for successes in a bureaucracy become more complex and technical. Just as the growth of graduate education in the post-Sputnik era has been vast, so has the need for an adequate foundation in secondary education.

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[4] See The Rulers and the Ruled, Chapter 1.

The two factions on the budget committee hear the proposal of the superintendent and his staff, which gives some initial advantage to the community conservationist, and the old middle class is cast into a negative role with little to say except keep taxes down. This sometimes has the effect of limiting the rate of growth favored by the organization men. In effect, it serves as a brake. Thus the original proposal that the teachers' starting salary be increased $500 to $5000 was trimmed to the $300 increase which the board finally approved, although only after paying due respect in their debates to the cost cutting, profit motivating concept of merit pay. Sometimes the administration probably anticipates more fiscal conservatism than would actually greet their proposals, and at other times they are shocked by an unexpected amount of resistance to costly or even relatively inexpensive new programs. Anticipating precisely the tolerable maximum is a neat problem for administrators, but is not the question here.

What is important to know is the extent to which the property oriented, orthodox conservatives will accept the compromise budget devised by the committee. They can either more or less willingly accept the committee proposal, or refuse to do so and appeal to the voters to reject the budget. We will argue that it is valid to assume that in most cases the anti-tax increase faction, when they fail to control the committee, does not carry the debate to the voters. Our hypothesis is that in the election the negative vote comes not from the upper and middle class property owners who in losing in the committee are voting against the budget, but from the lower white collar and blue collar working class voters who were not represented at all on the committee, and who therefore do not feel obligated to a compromise which they had no voice in making.

Why should people whose only property is their home, and a home which is not comparatively expensive at that, offer the most resistance to what is for them a rather small dollar tax increase? This question could only be raised by a middle class person for whom ten or twenty dollars a year is a small sum, and not by a lower income person for whom every extra dollar is preciously needed to maintain the current level of living. With an already low income increased taxes may require postponing the purchase of a new automobile, or new clothes for the children, or furniture or simply a few drinks with the boys. Couple this with the fact that a college preparatory program is of minimal value to a child whose father cannot afford to send him on for education beyond high school, and the lower income parent can see little reason for sacrificing immediate gratification. The fillip for the small homeowner is being left out of the tax decision, which means in effect that he can only register his protest against important sums of money being taken from him for no good reason by voting against the budget as a unit and thereby defeating the whole school program. In short, he is faced with the Hobson's choice of throwing the baby out with the bathwater or drinking the unpleasant dregs himself.

Some support for this picture comes from the various studies which have shown that the greater the turnout in referendum and financial elections, the less likely is the issue proposed to the people to gain their approval.[5] Knowing also that the more highly educated, high income group votes most often, we can infer that a large turnout means a heavier proportion of the lower socio-economic class goes to the polls. This in turn leads us back to the behavior of the disaffected property oriented orthodox conservatives. If they accept the compromise worked out in committee, the chances of a defeat would seem minimal, for there is no organized anti-budget leadership. If, however, they carry their fight to the voters, then they may be effective in leading the typical non-voter to the polls to express his rather long-term discontent with rising taxes unaccompanied by improvements in the educational program designed to be of assistance to his non-college bound children.[6]

In some instances it is conceivable that the leadership in the fight against the budget may be indigenous, that is, generated from within the mass of lower middle and working class citizens. In Eugene in 1963 it may have been that the fight over the high school boundaries may have so alienated the more articulate sectors of the frustrated west side lower middle class population that they led a personal campaign against the budget, not to reduce taxes, even though this might have been a welcome side effect, but primarily to indicate to a school board which seemed to them to be indifferent to their needs that they did have some resources and must be heard in the future if the school system is to be preserved. The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to a development of these alternate models.

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[5] See Maurice Pinard, "Structural Attachments and Political Support in Urban Politics: The Case of the Fluoridation Referendums," American Journal of Sociology, 68 (March, 1963), pp. 513-526, especially Table 1, and James S. Coleman, Community Conflict (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 19-21.

[6] This argument is consistent with the findings of Clarence N. Stone, "Local Referendums: An Alternative to the Alienated Voter Model," Public Opinion Quarterly, Summer, 1965, pp. 213-222.

A general unwillingness to pay for improved city services through a hike in the tax rate should apply to school budgets as well. But the way in which a resistance to taxes will manifest itself in relation to school finances in the two cities is open to question, and to pursue this we developed a purposefully rather vaguely worded item which asks the respondent to indicate his approval or disapproval of "increasing taxes to provide improved city services." There is no indication of the type of service in question, nor of the amount of the increase, but only of the fact of an increase for some type of service. Hopefully an item so free of specific content will tap a general dimension of concern with taxes, a dimension not burdened with concerns about the desirability or efficiency of particular programs. As expected, well over half of the Eugene sample which either approved or strongly approved of an increase in taxes expressed their intention, in April, to vote for the proposed major increase in the school operating budget being presented to the electorate in May. The gross relationship of the two items is useful only in confirming that each is subject to the influence of a single factor, concern with mounting tax outgo. What is important is the difference in the relationship between the two cities, and among the three levels of education in each city.

Tables 5-1 and 5-2 show that in both cities a common pattern emerges. The more educated among those approving in general of tax increases are more supportive of the school budget in particular than are the equally tax approving but less educated citizens. The range is more constricted in Eugene, starting with slightly over half (54%) of the less educated and going up to two-thirds (67%) of the highly educated tax supporters, than it is in Springfield, where only 42% of the less educated but 76% of the highly educated are in favor of the proposed budget. No comparable variation in the proportion willing to vote for the school budget is to be found among those who disapprove of any tax increase, the range being confined to the very narrow territory between 9% and 16% regardless of city or education. For those most hostile to increased taxes there are few if any ameliorating conditions influenced by the conduct of the school system in either community, or by other values related to the differing perspective of each educationally related cultural class. Note that the impact of new teaching techniques is less in Springfield among those opposed to local tax increases than among those approving, but that in Eugene there is little difference in the impact of new teaching techniques among either group (Table 4-22).

Equally important is the difference between the two cities. First, they are practically non-existant, when only the highest level of education is considered. Slightly more of the college educated in Springfield who approve of tax increases are planning to vote for the school budget, though no more are voting against the budget in Eugene. Instead, this group is less sure of their vote. Among the college educated who are either undecided or who disapprove of tax increases there is no difference from city to city.

TABLE 5-1

RELATIONSHIP OF GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS TAX INCREASES TO VOTING INTENTIONS

TIME 3, EUGENE

Attitude Towards Increased Taxes	Voting Intentions: Time 3				
	For	Against	Not Sure	Totals %	N
Educational Level					
Low (10 years or less)					
Approve	54%	28	18	100	22
Undecided	11%	55	34	100	18
Disapprove	12%	84	4	100	42
Medium (11-12 years)					
Approve	56%	24	20	100	34
Undecided	19%	28	53	100	32
Disapprove	9%	70	21	100	47
High (Over 12 years)					
Approve	67%	20	13	100	51
Undecided	29%	36	35	100	28
Disapprove	9%	87	3	99	45

TABLE 5-2

RELATIONSHIP OF GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS TAX INCREASES TO VOTING INTENTIONS: TIME 3, SPRINGFIELD

Attitude Towards Increased Taxes	Voting Intentions: Time 3				
	For	Against	Not Sure	Totals %	N
Educational Level					
Low (10 years or less)					
Approve	42%	36	22	100	36
Undecided	23%	38	39	100	26
Disapprove	11%	75	14	100	83
Medium (11-12 years)					
Approve	42%	36	22	100	33
Undecided	43%	30	27	100	30
Disapprove	16%	70	13	99	57
High (Over 12 years)					
Approve	76%	19	5	100	21
Undecided	25%	44	31	100	16
Disapprove	13%	83	4	100	23

But among the two lower educational categories the relationship of tax attitude to school budget vote is quite different. The Eugeneans who approve of taxes are more pro-budget (54% and 56% in the low and medium education levels) than the Springfielders (42%), but the Eugeneans who are undecided are much more anti-budget than comparable Springfield residents. In effect, the undecided Eugeneans are as infrequently for the budget as are those deadset against any taxes, although they are not so much against the budget as not yet sure of how they will vote. But the undecided Springfielders are almost as supportive of the school budget as the tax backers. Has the fight over school boundaries, or some other weakness in the administration of the Eugene school system, led people into opposition to the budget who would not have been motivated to do so on the basis of their tax sentiments alone?

The boundary dispute as the direct explanation of the anti-budget sentiment among those who would otherwise not be opposed to taxing for increased public services is difficult to sustain. Despite the heat of the controversy, when asked in an open-ended question what were the most important problems facing education at this time only 5 per cent of the Eugene sample answered that it was locating school boundaries. This is far more than gave the same response in any other city but one sampled at the same time, the others ranging downward from 2 1/2 per cent to less than 1 per cent. At the same time almost 10 per cent of the sample in each of the cities listed taxes, bond and budgets issues as an important problem, between 15 and 20 per cent listed teaching techniques, and close to 40 per cent listed expansion of the school system to meet the population increase.

It should be said that the boundary fight may have been a one-shot controversy, and that once settled there was no further reason to expect the problem to continue to plague the community. This would be especially true in Eugene, where the settlement, while discomforting one segment of the community for several years, included the provision that a fourth high school would be erected in the west side of town. At the time the west siders did not accept this as a satisfactory compromise, perhaps out of mistrust of the promises of the school board and administration. The fourth school has in fact been constructed, and the new boundary arrangements which will bring the west side children back from the far north high school has been promulgated without encountering a dissenting reaction. Eugeneans had some reason to believe that however painful at the present, the boundary problem had been solved and would not be facing them in the future. This could not be said in the one-high-school communities of Oakridge and Junction City, where population growth might at some future date force them to build a second school, creating a boundary dispute.

A much higher percentage of residents in the greater Portland area reported a concern with boundary problems and this is a district with numerous high schools. Over 6 per cent of the random sample in Portland expected trouble in this area, but more than 15 per cent of the Negro sub-sample saw problems in the making. Given the dispute over defacto segregation in ghetto schools and the cry of the Negro community for school bussing procedures that would allow them to break out of the ghetto in at least one significant area of their lives, we can understand this greater concern with boundaries even where the physical facilities are relatively plentiful. Thus the rather low percentage of Eugene residents does not indicate that there was no problem. Instead it may be residue of what was a problem but which no longer is one at the present. Again, at the time of the interviews, there was no guarantee that a fourth high school would be built, so that the fact that twice as many Eugeneans as residents of other communities except Portland are concerned with boundaries is probably half fear that commitments will not be kept, and half the inertia of old problems slow in being forgotten.

That the boundary dispute was a problem can be seen from the topic of conversation people listed in response to another open-ended question. Over 9 per cent of the people sampled in the Eugene school district reported discussing school location and boundaries with friends, neighbors, teachers or school officials. This is in contrast to no more than 2 per cent discussing the problem in any other city except, with only 1 per cent in Portland, where this was a problem to such a relatively high proportion of the populace. This attests to the critical nature of the boundary question in Eugene, though it does not detract from the importance of the tax costs of the budget, just the reverse. Almost double the proportion discussing boundaries were actively concerned to this extent with the school budget and the taxes required to support it. Is this an adequate gauge of the relative importance of boundaries and taxes in deciding the school election?

Quite possibly so, but we cannot be sure without introducing a measure of what was said about these questions, and what the people who did not discuss school politics but who nevertheless vote, thought of the merits of the increased budget or the new school boundaries. We have already introduced the item measuring tax attitudes. Unfortunately, the questionnaire was designed prior to the boundary controversy, so that we have no attitudinal measure of support or disapproval of this school board decision, only the index of interest as reported in the open-ended questions on the important issues and the school topics discussed. From our observations at school board meetings and reading of letters to the editor in the Eugene Register-Guard,[7] it is clear that the boundary assignment was not accepted as the only conclusion which could be drawn from applying sound educational principles to the situation. Rather, many of the affected citizens saw the decision as the outgrowth of the power position of the upper-class east siders when it was brought to bear on a not-unwilling administration who passed it on to a compliant school board, two out of five of whose members were residents of one east side elementary school attendance area which was originally slated to transfer into the new high school. This becomes clear in the tone of the letters of dissatisfied citizens (see also the section in Chapter I on Setting High School Boundaries):

> Having been involved in two boundary changes in the past year, I know that people do accept being moved, without fuss, if they feel the reasons are sensible and fair. At the first meeting we were told that "walking distance" could not be considered, but that we must move because we were in the area adjacent to the school with space. We accepted that as reasonable and moved our children without complaint. Then at the next meeting we are told that whether or not we are in the adjacent area cannot be considered, but that "walking distance" is now the important factor. How can we be expected to have any confidence in an administration which completely reverses its own policy in nine months time, or in a school board which supports such a reversal? Boundary changes must not be made on the basis of what seems expedient at the moment, who can talk the fastest, or apply the most pressure. Some sensible principles must be established and followed or eventually there will be so many mad people out voting "no confidence" the entire district will suffer. [8]

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[7] An institutionalized place for presenting dissent from prevailing views, quite often used by the radical right, and thus confusing all dissent expressed there with but one brand, but nevertheless still taken quite seriously even by the most respectable members of the community who also use its columns to express their opinions, and read by many as an accurate harbinger of changing community sentiment.

[8] Eugene Register-Guard, February 22, 1963. Written by the lady who was head of the PTA in one of the affected areas.

> From the story on moving students to Madison Jr. High (west side school), quote "Milhollen (Deputy Superintendent) said the argument against that [moving students who live east of Coburg Road instead of Willagillespie students] is that these students would have to be transported a greater distance." Sounds like we are being quoted from a few weeks ago when we were protesting the North High and Sheldon boundary changes. Only then the superintendents were against all our arguments. What is it? One policy in January, a different one in February--I wonder what March will bring.[9]

Even before the decision was made the staunchly community conservationist local paper urged caution:

> Citizens support or fail to support school programs not so much because of the merits of the individual programs as because of a general feeling of trust or faith in the system. It is this feeling that the board must encourage. It must not let any group, even a group which is eventually dissatisfied with the decision, feel that it was dealt with in an arbitrary or cavalier manner.[10]

The connection was made in many citizens' minds between an onerous policy, an upper middle class elite from one side of town which pressured for the policy, and an administration lead by hypocrites who argued that professional educational standards require one policy until they were pressured into seeing that another policy was correct. Many abandoned their general feeling of trust in the system. Would the results predicted by the newspaper eventuate? Would this loss of trust lead to a failure to support school programs?

There was surprisingly little change in attitude towards school administrators over the four-year period, 1959 to 1963.[11] Slightly more, rather than less of the citizens, expected school administrators to be sympathetic to their problems (See Table 5-3). When asked how school officials would react to their problems, 82 per cent of the respondents living in the elementary school boundary districts whose children were not shifted as a result of the new high school boundaries and who expected to be understood at Time 1 still expected understanding at Time 3. The remaining 18 per cent expected that in contrast to previous practice, they would receive a perfunctory hearing with the buck effectively passed, or be ignored altogether. Among those living in affected school boundary areas, either on the dissatisfied west side, or on the initially threatened but eventually victorious east side, the proportion changing from 1959 expectations of understanding to 1963 less sanguine expectations was an only slighter greater 25 per cent. Slight as the change is, it is also found among those who at Time 1 did not expect understanding treatment of their problems, 45 per cent of whom still expected no better treatment at Time 3 among those in unaffected areas, and 51 per cent still expecting less than an understanding in affected areas. In short, a few more people in the affected areas came to a more cynical expectation of school administrators from an initially favorable perspective, or a few more people in affected areas retained their cynical view in contrast to a more favorable shift among the unaffected. Several reasons can be advanced for the minor magnitude of change. Possibly the full publicity given the boundary dispute affected all residents of the school district equally in adversely influencing their attitudes towards administrators. This explanation does not meet the fact that in both the affected and unaffected areas the gross change over time was very slightly towards a more favorable expectation of school administrators. Possibly the residents of the affected areas, being more exposed to earlier conflicts with the administration, were even in 1959 more hostile towards the administration,

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[9] Eugene Register-Guard, February 28, 1963.

[10] Ibid., January 27, 1963, editorial.

[11] Using the School Decision-maker Cynicism measure described in Chapter II.

TABLE 5-3

CHANGE IN SCHOOL DECISION-MAKER CYNICISM FROM TIME 1 TO TIME 3 BY AREA OF EUGENE

Time 1	Time 3			
	Understanding (Trusting)	Other (Cynical)	Totals %	N
Area Unaffected by Boundary Dispute				
Understanding	82%	18	100	50
Other	55%	45	100	20
Area Affected by Boundary Dispute				
Understanding	75%	25	100	84
Other	49%	51	100	65

and were thus left with less statistical opportunity to move anywhere but towards a more conciliatory position. The data provide some basis for this argument, 44 per cent of the affected expecting less than an understanding even in 1959, as compared to 29 per cent of the unaffected at the earlier date. When the four areas are considered separately, in 1959 (Time 1) 47 per cent of the 75 west-siders, 40 per cent of the 74 east-siders, 37 per cent of the 35 in the area of the new high school and 20 per cent of the 35 living in the area of the second high school were cynical about the reaction of school officials to their problems. The range of proportions four years later had narrowed considerably, with the west-siders down to 37 per cent cynical, and the River Roaders up to 23 per cent. This confirms the suspicion that the apparent change reflected in the data is primarily a statistical artifact, in this instance regression towards the mean.

The total impact of the data, however, is that there is little evidence for arguing that the boundary dispute was significant enough to account for a direct and immediate change in voting attitudes in the school budget election. Some undoubtedly became more embittered by the seeming influence of raw political pressure over rational pedagogy, and a small number may have become unsettled enough to vote in school budget elections which before they had never considered worth their time. But at best only 5 per cent of the Eugene electorate was so affected, which is a large enough group to make the difference if they made up the total increase in turnout from the sparsely attended 1962 election to the heavily attended 1963 election. Other studies have shown that it is precisely these more cynical voters who are least likely to exercise the franchise, assuming that the system is in any event rigged against their interests. We will return to this question, and to the question of the indirect impact of the boundary dispute, after a consideration of the direct influence of tax sentiments and political cynicism.

Tax Sentiments and Political Cynicism

While there is very little change in political cynicism over the four-year period, most of which can be accounted for by either regression towards the mean or the school boundary dispute, Time 3 attitudes towards school officials have a powerful effect on the school budget voting intentions of the sample. As Tables 5-4 and 5-5 reveal, in both Eugene and Springfield, between 30 and 40 per cent of those expecting to be understood, depending on their educational level, are planning to vote for the budget. But only one person of the 27 in Eugene and one person of the 28 in Springfield who expect to be ignored by school officials are also planning to vote for the budget. To the extent that a person cannot hope for a fair hearing when he presents his case to officialdom, he is alienated from the system for which the official speaks.

The alienation may be minor in degree, as when one fatalistically expects to be shuttled from office to office, obtaining a response only if unshakably persistant. Or the degree of alienation may be major, as it is for those who do not even expect to be taken seriously enough to merit being shuffled around within the bureaucracy, but who can instead be dismissed out of hand. As the degree of alienation increases, the willingness to make personal dollar (or opportunity) sacrifices for the system responsible for the rejection rapidly diminishes. Why should a person, typically as shall shortly be seen without an excess of money with which to pay taxes, divert any funds to a system whose goals he

TABLE 5-4

EFFECT OF SCHOOL DECISION-MAKER CYNICISM ON VOTING INTENTIONS BY EDUCATION: TIME 3, EUGENE

School Decision-Maker Cynicism Expectation	Voting Intentions: Time 3				
	For	Against	Not Sure	Totals %	N
Educational Level					
Low					
Understanding (Trusting)	38%	46	16	100	37
Cynical (Pass the Buck)	14%	77	9	100	22
Very Cynical (Ignore Me)	0%	100	0	100	13
Medium					
Understanding	34%	38	27	99	73
Cynical	12%	50	38	100	16
Very Cynical	--	--	--	---	8*
High					
Understanding	42%	44	13	99	84
Cynical	35%	44	22	101	23
Very Cynical	--	--	--	---	6*

*N too small to compute percentages, but all save one in the combined Medium and High Education categories were against the budget.

TABLE 5-5

EFFECT OF SCHOOL DECISION-MAKER CYNICISM ON VOTING INTENTIONS BY EDUCATION: TIME 3, SPRINGFIELD

School Decision-Maker Cynicism Expectations	Voting Intentions: Time 3				
Educational Level	For	Against	Not Sure	Totals %	N
Low					
Understanding	35%	43	23	101	75
Cynical	6%	80	15	101	34
Very Cynical	5%	77	18	100	22
Medium					
Understanding	36%	42	21	99	85
Cynical	22%	61	17	100	23
Very Cynical	--	--	--	---	6*
High					
Understanding	39%	49	12	100	49
Cynical	--	--	--	---	9*
Very Cynical	--	--	--	---	0

*N too small to compute percentages, but all of the Very Cynical were against the budget.

cannot influence when the money he has can better be spent on a more immediately satisfying object, such as a new automobile or clothes or better housing?

What produces such alienation? In part, it is a function of cultural class.[12] In both Eugene and Springfield the more educated expect more understanding from school officials. Somewhat more than 40 per cent of the less educated Eugeneans expect understanding school officials, but two-thirds of the most educated, those with at least some college, do. The distribution is comparable in Springfield, where half of the less educated but almost 80 per cent of the more educated are not even in the minor alienation category. In part, alienation is a function of the educational system in the community. Working class Springfield (where 45 per cent of the sample is in the less educated category) is less alienated, although only slightly so, than middle class Eugene (where only 26 per cent falls into the same educational category). Six per cent more of the less educated Springfielders are confident of being understood, as are 12 per cent more of the higher educated. Somehow, educational administrators have inspired more confidence in Springfield than have their counterparts in Eugene. This despite the fact that in Eugene educators had a group much more predisposed as a function of their own high educational level towards the educational system.

This raises again the question of the impact of the boundary decision, which alone may not have effected great changes, but which may have been typical of the way in which a series of decisions have been made in Eugene. Educators in Eugene face largely a highly educated group owing its professional or managerial position in society to that advanced degree of formal education, and which is therefore committed to support of the system which nurtured them and which they hope will equally well nuture their children. This group is probably inclined to accept the same criteria as the educators themselves for a decision affecting the operation of the educational system. In most instances they have delegated the decisional responsibility to the administrators.

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[12] See also the discussion in Chapter IV.

To measure the extent tc which decisional authority has been delegated by the citizens to the school board and the administration the Time 3 sample was asked what in their opinion was "the best way to settle matters of public school policy." For each of six policy questions they were given three alternative decision-making procedures:

1. Vote by citizens
2. Vote by school board
3. Decision by superintendent and his staff.

The six policy areas were:

1. Dropping or adding courses
2. Changing teachers' salaries
3. Setting the school budget
4. Hiring and firing teachers
5. Locating new schools and their boundaries
6. Creating new programs and teaching techniques

This is the "Right Rulers" dimension introduced in Chapter IV, supra, but for our purposes here we have combined responses in a somewhat different way. Persons who in three or more policy areas (with the exception of the following two special types) preferred one type of decisional process or another was designated as Citizen Oriented, School Board Oriented or Superintendent Oriented. The Elite Oriented preferred the school board in three policy areas and the superintendent in the remaining three areas. The anti-professional opted for the school board in three cases and a vote by the citizens in the other three cases. Finally, a very few respondents scattered their preferences evenly over the three decision-making alternatives. Some may wish to argue that the six policy items offered to the respondents naturally prejudice his reply towards a preference for an administrative solution, and that therefore the more educated are simply revealing their greater familiarity with proper educational decision-making procedures. We have tried to avoid this by offering a broad range of issues, from setting the school budget, which few will maintain is the proper province of the superintendent (although 9 per cent of the residents of the five sample cities did so) to curricular changes and teaching innovations, which most would allow to the professional staff (and half of the respondents did so). But the very question of what is rightly within the scope of the school board's or superintendent's authority is ultimately decided by the people. If power is exercised without this grant of popular authority the citizenry will in due time become increasingly alienated until such a point is reached that the discrepancy is resolved by a forced change in the power structure, or a grudging acceptance and accordance of authority to the power structure by the citizens.[13]

Only 3 per cent of the highly educated in Eugene, and 6 per cent in Springfield, are classified as Citizen Oriented, or anti-professional

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[13] For a discussion of the distinction between political and administrative issues, see Robert E. Agger, et al., The Rulers and the Ruled. They define a political issue as one which affects a wide segment of the community, or a smaller segment more critically. In that the less educated want to participate in making decisions, they are saying that the middle classes are taking advantage of them by manipulating symbols to define issues as administrative which are not inherently so. The less educated do not have the symbol skills necessary to debate this definition, therefore they can only explode at election time and vote to reject the system in its entirety.

(Table 5-6). Ten times as many of the less educated in Eugene (30%) are anti-professional in their procedural preferences, and four times as many in Springfield (24%). The more educated would rather leave educational decision-making to the superintendent (41% in Eugene, 38% in Springfield) or to the elite composed of the superintendent and the school board.

There is a paradox in this data. A check of the voting record in the five school elections in the period 1959-1963 showed that the more educated members of the sample were much more likely to vote than the less educated, despite the latter's preference for citizen decision-making and the former's apparent lack of concern with personal participation. School financial elections are held independently of any other election, during the first week in May of each year, and they are characterized by relatively low turnouts, ranging from 10 to 30 per cent of the eligible citizens. Oregonians are probably required to come to the polls more often than citizens of any other state. Each special district (water, recreation, fire, utility, school, etc.) holds independent elections. Half of the statewide officers (including the governor) are elected in non-presidential years. A referendum on a special issue can be scheduled at irregular times. For most contested offices there is both a primary and a general election. With all of these demands on the citizen it is to be expected that some citizens will not exercise their franchise at each of the several times during the year when a question is put to them. This is most likely to happen in those many non-partisan and issue elections in which the stakes are not crisply delineated by the two classical political parties. When the citizen is obligated to research the issues without the guidance of a venerable and responsible organization it is little wonder that this duty is more readily accepted by those better prepared by their educational background.

TABLE 5-6

RELATIONSHIP OF EDUCATION TO "RIGHT RULERS" AT TIME 3

Community Education	"Right Rulers"						Totals	
	Citizens	School Board	Superintendent	Elite	Anti-Professional	Scattered Preferences	%	N
Eugene								
Low	22%	35	22	0	8	13	100	77
Medium	15%	47	17	6	3	11	99	127
High	3%	31	41	20	0	5	100	98
Springfield								
Low	22%	49	14	3	2	11	101	140
Medium	15%	50	17	3	3	12	100	128
High	6%	33	38	13	0	10	100	48

But the data still shows that the less educated citizen nevertheless wants to participate in making the critical decisions in this area, which is important to him even if he does not value the educational benefits and only wants to reduce the personal tax cost to himself. Apart from the difficulty of an individual investigation of the issues, which does not dull the desire to decide however much it denies the less educated individual the means, there is a second point at which effective participation is blocked.

It is generally accepted that popular participation through the polls means either selection of the officers of government, or acceptance or rejection of an issue. Plebiscites, that is, simple yes-no elections, in fascist Germany and Italy should have made clear by now the hollowness of elections in which the voter has no opportunity to participate in framing the alternatives. Of what value is the right to vote for or against a school budget when the board can within the month place a rejected budget again before the voters, almost without change in its form. We can not see that the paradox in the data is not that the less educated wish to decide but fail to vote, rather it is that they wish to decide but are offered only the most limited, last-stage means of participating, the vote. By the time they are called upon, the definitions of the issues have been made by others without their being consulted, and thus the range of choice presented to them is narrowed. Typically, the alternatives are approving the program as defined by others, disapproving the program with little hope of a major new definition being presented for their evaluation, or wrecking the program entirely by consistently voting against the budget. Unfortunately, the less educated can come to feel constrained either to avoid the illusion of participation by not voting, or participating to vent their anger at being alienated from the decision-making process. This conception of the political process will be explored later in this chapter, when the actual vote in the budget election is examined.

While the educators had not seen the results of the questionnaire, they had undoubtedly heard from their fellow non-educational administrators and professionals the phrase familiar to most high level administrators--"you are the expert in this area; we will rely upon your experience to make the correct decision." In Springfield the proportion of the population willing to give decision responsibility to educators is smaller, making it more difficult to assume that they need not justify their actions to the public. Whereas in Eugene administrators may more easily lose sight of the need to answer a critical public, in Springfield they can less readily fail to take into account a clientele which lacks education, and the high value placed on education. Although in Eugene there may in most cases be little question of the decisional outcomes, or procedures, of the educators, there will from time to time be an exception. For instance, Eugene is known for its program of secondary education, which emphasizes college preparatory work. This is what most of the citizens want, but it does not satisfy the large minority whose concern is not with the excellence that will enable their child to attend Stanford rather than the local state university, but with the training that will enable their children to hold down a decent job as a skilled or semi-skilled worker.

Once there is a flare-up over procedures or outcome, even one so mild as is engendered by a newspaper report on a visiting secondary accredation committee which concluded that college preparatory work was emphasized at the cost of other curricular interests, both sides tend to become alienated. This would account for the lower degree of confidence in the administration in Eugene by both the high and less educated citizens when compared to comparably educated residents of Springfield. Thus the at the time irksome need for explaining a program to those with less comprehension of educational goals may in the long run be beneficial in that it induces a higher overall level of confidence in the program than is to be found among those who apparently are bored by being told what they already know. In the long run, being attended to less increases the probabilities that through lack of communication if no other reason, an issue which at first seemed minor to the administration, as did the boundary question in Eugene, will become the major controversy of the moment, threatening the whole structure of the school system.

Alienation from school decision-makers then is a manifestation of educational background and the behavior of the educators in a particular system. This is not to suggest that with these two factors all variation in alienation has been taken into account. Other roots of alienation can undoubtedly be offered, and will be in the future as the importance of this variable is understood. The point here is that two explanatory factors have been isolated which have increased our comprehension of the dynamics of discontent. Nothing has been said of the result of alienation apart from its gross effect--rejection of school budgets, only of its causes. The important detail is that there is no remaining effect of either education or community (differences in conduct of school systems by administrators) on support of the budget after alienation has been taken into account (Tables 5-4 and 5-5). Even though the less educated are inclined to be more alienated, the trusting among the less educated are just as supportive of the school budget as they are among the more highly educated, and to the same degree in both cities. With three levels of education in each of the two cities, there are six categories of citizens who expect an understanding reception from school administrators. The range from the category most supportive of the budget proposal to the least supportive is 7 percentage points, from 35 per cent of the Springfielders with low education to 42 per cent of the Eugeneans with a high education. This is a fraction of the range within any educational level within either city in the direct relationship of alienation to budget predisposition. The smallest range is found among the less educated Springfielders, where 35 per cent of those expecting an understanding are supporting the budget, which is true of only 5 per cent of the completely alienated.

This supports the earlier finding, reported in Chapter IV, that in a partial correlation education has no residual correlation to budget vote intention when alienation is incorporated into the analysis. Before examining alienation in conjunction with tax sentiments the nature of the dependent variable, voting intention in school budget elections, should be further explored. In the questionnaire the question appears as follows:

> Here is a list of things which could come up in an election sometime this year. If the election were to be held today, would you vote for or against each of the following? . . .
>
> B. Property tax increase to pay for a larger school district budget.

For	Against	Not Sure

As part of the same series the respondent was asked to indicate his probable vote on bonds for state university buildings, raising state income taxes, a state tax on cigarettes, city enforcement of a heating code and the return of expressway building authority to the city council (it had been limited to the people voting in a referendum.) These were all issues on which an election had been scheduled, or there was reason to believe would be put to the voters in a referendum upon petition of the proper number of registered citizens. As the final budget figures were not agreed upon at the time of the questionnaire construction a dollar amount could not be offered to the respondent. Early budget estimates clearly showed that a larger than usual increase in the millage rate would be requested, and during the time the interviews were administered there was some degree of controversy within the school district budget committee although the budget committee had just agreed upon a figure. In effect, at the time the respondent checked the for or against box in the school budget he could not be altogether positive what he was buying, unless he was willing to accept any tax increase, no matter how high, or reject any change in taxes, no matter how reasonable. If the actual dollar amount of the increase was capable of influencing a person's vote, then he might reasonably have responded by opting for the not sure alternative. Approximately 20 per cent in each city did so. It must be presumed that many of the other responses were expressions of faith, or lack of it, in the educational system. Therefore, responses to the item cannot be taken as commitments to vote one way or another, but only as indications of a predisposition built on the assumption that conditions stay approximately as they were at the time of the interview, and that the budget offered to the voters by the school board is no larger than then expected. That this is at best a tentative commitment is indisputable in light of the fact that an almost identical 30 per cent in each city was for the budget, 50 per cent against and the remainder unsure of their voting intentions, when the decision at the polls one month later was to result in a 55 per cent vote against the budget in Eugene and a 58 per cent vote in favor of the budget in Springfield.

The question then in part reveals an intent among those who have made up their mind on the information currently in their possession, however incomplete. It in part betrays an attitude towards education narrowed by the addition of a cost function. It has only a limited usefulness as a predictor of actual vote, even though it may be an accurate gauge of present predisposition. It cannot without weighting in accordance to who is likely to turn out on election day, and without consideration of the possibility of an effective, vote-changing campaign, be accepted as an assurance that the budget faces trouble or ready acceptance. With all these cautions taken into account, the measure is still useful, for it does after all bring to bear on the respondent the same two critical dimensions he will face in the voting booth, education and taxes. When such a question is coupled to an analysis of how the respondent actually voted, a new understanding of the pressures that lead behavior to differ from predisposition are possible.

The unrelated impact on the predisposition to vote against the budget of anti-tax and anti-administration sentiment was relatively strong. The joint relationship of the two to vote intention shows that each has an effect independent of the other, even when controlled for education. While the number in several categories is rather small, a general picture still emerges quite clearly from Tables 5-7 and 5-8. At each educational level but one (the highly educated) the trusting (those expecting an understanding reception from school officials) are almost twice as

TABLE 5-7

RELATIONSHIP OF SCHOOL DECISION-MAKER CYNICISM AND GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS INCREASED TAXES TO VOTING INTENTIONS: TIME 3, EUGENE

Educational Level School Decision-Maker Cynicism Attitudes Towards Increased Taxes	Voting Intentions: Time 3				
	For	Against	Not Sure	Totals %	N
Low					
Trusting					
Approve	69%	15	15	99	13
Undecided	10%	60	30	100	10
Disapprove	29%	64	7	100	14
Cynical					
Approve	33%	44	22	99	9
Undecided	11%	55	33	99	9
Disapprove	4%	93	4	101	28
Medium					
Trusting					
Approve	61%	19	19	99	26
Undecided	24%	33	43	100	21
Disapprove	15%	61	23	99	26
Cynical					
Approve	--	--	--	---	8*
Undecided	9%	18	72	99	11
Disapprove	0%	81	19	100	21
High					
Trusting					
Approve	65%	20	15	100	40
Undecided	33%	48	19	99	21
Disapprove	13%	83	4	100	23
Cynical					
Approve	72%	18	9	99	11
Undecided	22%	11	66	99	9
Disapprove	4%	90	4	98	22

*N to small to compute percentages.

TABLE 5-8

RELATIONSHIP OF SCHOOL DECISION-MAKER CYNICISM AND GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS INCREASED TAXES TO VOTING INTENTIONS: TIME 3, SPRINGFIELD

Educational Level School Decision-Maker Cynicism Attitude Towards Increased Taxes	Voting Intentions: Time 3				
	For	Against	Not Sure	Totals %	Totals N
Low					
Trusting					
Approve	48%	26	26	100	27
Undecided	36%	21	43	100	14
Disapprove	23%	65	12	100	34
Cynical					
Approve	22%	66	11	99	9
Undecided	11%	58	32	101	19
Disapprove	2%	83	15	100	46
Medium					
Trusting					
Approve	48%	30	22	100	23
Undecided	54%	17	29	100	24
Disapprove	18%	66	16	100	38
Cynical					
Approve	30%	50	20	100	10
Undecided	11%	55	33	99	9
Disapprove	11%	79	11	101	19
High					
Trusting					
Approve	77%	16	6	99	18
Undecided	21%	43	36	100	14
Disapprove	12%	88	0	100	17
Cynical					
Approve	--	--	--	---	3*
Undecided	--	--	--	---	4*
Disapprove	--	--	--	---	6*

*N too small to compute percentages.

frequently planning to vote for the budget as the cynical. Those in favor of general tax increases are supporting the budget at least three or four times as often as the anti-budget groups, and in each instance among the alienated the proportion supporting the budget drops to below one in ten. These are the percentages for Eugene, virtually the same set of figures is found for Springfield. Education has some residual impact after controlling for tax attitudes and cynicism, in that the highly educated and cynical Springfield residents more often intend to vote for the budget than less educated cynics. Similarly, the more highly educated among the trusting in Eugene are also more supportive of the budget. But neither of these patterns is as strong as the impact of tax attitudes or cynicism itself.

It was noted in the previous chapter that cynicism towards school decision-makers, or alienation as we term it here, related to school budget voting intentions. Not only was that the case at Time 1 and Time 3 in both cities, but the pattern of such sentiments towards school decision-makers over time made a difference in Time 3 voting intentions. We did not mean to imply then, nor do we mean to imply now, that people change their voting intentions from election to election automatically (or even probabilistically) as a function of changes in their feelings about decision-makers regardless of their initial electoral set. That is to say, at least in Eugene's school budget election in 1963 (Time 3) with a relatively widespread citizen shift towards a "no" vote, increased alienation seemed to make a difference for people who were "yes" voters in earlier elections but made no difference to people who were earlier disposed to vote against school budgets.

We can make an indirect test of the effects of shifts in alienation on voting intentions in Eugene in the following manner. The extent to which citizens in the sample thought school officials were responsive or not was measured at Time 1--1959. In 1960, a subsample was reinterviewed and their attitude toward the budget voted on just prior to the interviews was ascertained. Then we have the Time 3, 1963, measurements of both alienation and school budget voting intentions. This is an indirect test in the sense that we must assume that alienation was relatively stable between 1959 and 1960 (which Table 5-3 indicates is not unfounded) and that shorter time periods would produce similar pictures of the relevant patterns.

Table 5-9 is revealing, even though the numbers in this panel are very small. It demonstrates, among other things, that decreased alienation (from cynical to trusting) did not generate increased budget support at Time 3 among those who were against the budget earlier at Time 2 (the four respondents in that category maintained their anti-budget sentiments.) On the other hand, those respondents who had been alienated but in favor of the earlier budget differed very much on their later budget sentiments depending on whether they remained alienated or became trusting. Of the eleven earlier budget proponents who remained alienated, seven became anti-budget by Time 3 whereas five of the nine who moved from alienated to non-alienated became part of the minority that supported the 1963 school budget. Among the initially non-alienated supporters of and those unsure about the Time 1 budget, a minority of those who remained unalienated (12 of 32) became anti-budget by Time 3 compared to a majority (7 of 13) of those who became alienated. Thus it can be seen that even though there was a massive shift towards opposition to the school budget between 1960

TABLE 5-9

RELATIONSHIP OF PATTERNS OF ALIENATION FROM TIME 1 TO TIME 3 TO SCHOOL BUDGET VOTING INTENTIONS: TIME 3 (1963) BY TIME 2 (1960) REPORTED BUDGET ATTITUDES

	Voting Intentions: Time 3			
For and Not Sure Budget: Time 2 (1960)	For	Against	Not Sure	Totals N
Stable Unalienated	15	12	5	32
Alienated to Unalienated	5	2	2	9
Unalienated to Alienated	4	7	2	13
Stable Alienated	3	7	3	11
Against Budget: Time 2 (1960)				
Stable Unalienated	--	--	--	0
Alienated to Unalienated	0	4	0	4
Unalienated to Alienated	0	4	1	5
Stable Alienated	0	7	0	7

and 1963 in Eugene, the maintenance of trust in school officials, or, conversely, the development of alienation, made a great deal of difference in the extent to which former supporters (and the uncertain) joined the ranks of opponents in the latter election--even though the reduction of alienation did not lead to supportive voting intentions among earlier budget opponents.

So far the burden of these findings and of those reported in the previous chapter point to the relatively weak influence of social class status generally and to the relatively strong influence of social psychological variables directly upon voting intentions in 1963. As we have said, the latter variables are shaped in some measure by social class position. Of equal importance is the fact that social class status as well as the other variables discussed may affect citizen school orientations as well as budgetary and bond issue sentiments differently at different times, i.e., under different conditions. By "differently" we mean that they may have greater or lesser impact in shaping support for or opposition to the schools under various conditions.

Outcomes of school elections are ordinarily a function of both the distribution of attitudes and differential degrees of electoral participation by particular attitude categories of citizens. Not only may traditionally opposed, apathetic, or alienated citizens be mobilized on occasion to add to an ordinarily negative side, but distributions of attitudes themselves may undergo sharp change. The findings so far reported point to net stability in attitude distributions relative to citizen school orientations albeit with internal changes in such attitudes. That attitude distributions--in particular, school budget voting intentions--can and have changed substantially is revealed by Table 5-10:

TABLE 5-10

RELATIONSHIP OF EDUCATIONAL LEVEL TO SCHOOL BUDGET VOTING INTENTIONS IN EUGENE, TIMES 2 AND 3

Time 2 (1960) Voting

	V o t e d:			Did Not Vote, But:			Totals	
Educational Level	For	Against	Don't Know	For	Against	Undecided, Don't Know	%	N
Low	6%	28	6	28	11	22	101	18
Medium	22%	0	0	25	14	39	100	36
High	26%	3	3	31	8	31	102	39

Time 3 (1963) Voting Intentions

				Totals	
	For	Against	Not Sure	%	N
Low	33%	67	0	100	18
Medium	22%	39	39	100	36
High	33%	54	13	100	39

The 1960 (Time 2) measure of school budget voting preferences in Eugene is a post-election measure wherein the difference between voters and non-voters among the poorly educated is evident and striking. Even if the undecided and those not knowing their sentiments among the poorly educated were classified as "against" the budget, the poorly educated voters were even more one-sidedly against. Regardless, however, of whether we look at voters, at non-voters, or both combined, it is clear that the ratio of pro- to con-budget citizens in 1960 was between two and one-half or three to one. In 1963, the school budget intentions of the identical set of citizens in that panel was a reversed ratio of one to between one and one-half to two of budgetary supporters and opponents. The entire distribution of voting intentions thus shifted radically in Eugene (and may or may not have in Springfield for which we do not have comparable Time 2 data.)[14]

If we look at the three educational categories at the two points in time we find that the greatest shift in voting intentions took place not at the lowest educational level but among the medium and highly educated citizens. School officials in these Oregon communities as in communities in many parts of the country rely ordinarily both on the more favorable orientations of upper and upper-middle class patrons as well as their ordinarily higher turn-out rates in school elections. That their favorable orientations can under certain conditions change is attested by the foregoing measurements for Eugene and by the finding that in Springfield as well as in Eugene the distribution of voting intentions at Time 3 did not make for a sanguine prediction in regard to the basic school budget election of that year. We shall indicate on the basis of a post-election study how it was that in Springfield there was a return by election day to more traditional distributions of voting intentions but not in Eugene. But these shifts in voting attitude distributions were accompanied by shifts in other orientations as well.

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[14] A comparable shift is evident when we compare the Time 2 (1960) post-election reports of voting sentiments with Time 3 (1963) post-election reports from a special study conducted after the election and after these Time 3 pre-election data were gathered.

In the previous chapter we pointed out how citizens with stable positive and negative school orientations proved to be the most supportive and opposed categories, respectively, while those with fluctuating orientations over time proved to be more mixed in their budget sentiments. Of the six school orientation measures, only two proved to have become less positive overall between Times 1 and 3 in both communities: the two fiscal items--for special education and kindergartens (Table 2-4, supra). Another fiscal item that proved to be part of a generalized civic improvement orientation dimension with the foregoing items and the teaching techniques attitude item was attitude towards increasing local taxes to provide improved city services. The distribution of attitudes towards that increased taxes-improve city services item also evidenced a shift towards the disapprove pole in both cities (Table 5-11). Quite unexpectedly but consistent with the shift in school budget voting intentions, the more highly educated citizens shifted more than the least educated citizens in both cities, especially in Eugene. Whether this was in part or entirely due to an increasing tax consciousness in the state as a whole, and to what has been termed a "tax revolt" is unknown.

Thus as the school budget elections approached in both communities at Time 3 the variables that conjoined to produce dispositions to vote for or against the budget, that distinguished various cultural class categories in each community, were distributed differently than they had

TABLE 5-11

RELATIONSHIP OF EDUCATIONAL LEVEL TO ATTITUDES TOWARDS INCREASING LOCAL TAXES TO IMPROVE CITY SERVICES IN EUGENE AND SPRINGFIELD: TIMES 1 AND 3

Community Educational Level	Increase Taxes For City Services				
	Approve	Undecided	Disapprove	Totals*	
				%	N
	TIME 1 (1959)				
Eugene					
Low	36%	15	41	100	61
Medium	42%	21	36	99	85
High	49%	23	27	100	104
	TIME 3 (1963)				
Low	30%	23	48	101	61
Medium	31%	28	41	100	85
High	40%	20	38	100	104
	TIME 1 (1959)				
Springfield					
Low	33%	19	48	100	120
Medium	45%	21	32	99	99
High	52%	27	21	100	52
	TIME 3 (1963)				
Low	22%	19	57	100	120
Medium	24%	25	49	99	99
High	37%	23	38	100	52

*** Totals do not add up to 100% as Don't Know and No Answer responses are not shown. They constitute less than 3% of the responses.**

been in earlier budget elections. Pre-election politics unfolded around a different set of predispositions than in earlier years. Just as the strength of various variables may have changed over time and just as the set of the highly educated citizens in particular seemed at sharp variance with their customary set, the developing anti-budget politics in Eugene created a situation that made it difficult to predict how this complex of dynamic forces would affect the electoral outcomes. What can be said is that to the officials and laymen concerned with the elections and to the analysts who had not at that time made the foregoing data analysis, it seemed most unlikely that the basic operating budget would be rejected in either city--a prediction that proved to be very much in error in Eugene.

The Budget Election

Up to this point we have relied upon a measure of voter predisposition to support or reject a "property tax increase to pay for a larger school district budget." Sentiment towards this imprecise statement was determined by an evaluation of innovations in the school system, and by a willingness to expend personal dollars on tax-supported community projects. Also influential was the feeling on the part of the citizenry that school officials would be responsive to their needs. The cumulative impact of these several factors explained most of the variation in degrees of support or opposition towards the expected budget proposal. But what happened on the day of truth, when an iffy item on a questionnaire was replaced by a request for over $8,000,000[15] of tax money on a ballot?

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[15] The remainder of the budget came from extra-local sources.

If our sample is an accurate reflection of the adult population of the two school districts, and if the measure employed were valid and reliable, then the budget in both cities would have been defeated by substantial margins unless one or both of two dynamics took place. In fact, in Eugene 55 per cent of those who turned out at the polls voted against the budget, while only 42 per cent of the Springfield voters were negative (Table 5-12). There are two explanations for the discrepancy between intention and actuality. First, since far from every eligible citizen voted, it is possible that in Eugene both the pro- and anti-budget factions voted in equal proportions, while a smaller proportion of the anti-budget segment of Springfield voted. If this is so, then the question becomes, what kept the anti-budget Springfielders at home, or conversely, what brought the anti-budget faction to the polls in Eugene?

It is equally possible that there was a change in attitude towards the budget during the interval between the April interviewing and the May election, or in one of the dimensions examined earlier in the chapter and which has been shown to be strongly related to budget voting intention. There would be very little time for the gestation of such a change--a period of between one and two months, depending on the date on which the respondent was interviewed. If there was a change in attitude, then of course we will want to know what produced the change, and especially why the change took place in Springfield, but not in Eugene. Finally, it is trite but not for that reason less true that both forces, differential turnout and attitude change, may have been operating concurrently and in the same direction.[16]

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[16] There seems to be operative among many social scientists the belief that single-factor explanations are necessarily inadequate. It is not so much necessary to show that another factor is affecting the dependent

TABLE 5-12

VOTE IN MAY 6, 1963 SCHOOL BUDGET ELECTION

	Vote		Totals	
Community	For	Against	%	N
Eugene	45%	55	100	6972
Springfield	58%	42	100	2465

The vote in Eugene closely resembled the predisposition, where slightly more than half of the citizens were against the budget a month before the ballot, and slightly more than half eventually cast a negative vote. In Springfield, where again slightly more than half were initially anti-budget, well over half ultimately voted for the budget. Therefore it is tempting to assume that Eugene is the normal situation and Springfield the aberration which must be explained. Just the reverse is the case if the differential turnout model is accepted. Other studies of school budget and bond elections, and of fluoridation referendums, have shown that the higher the turnout in an election, the more likely was the issue to be defeated. In effect, if all eligible citizens voted, the budget would have failed in both cities, because the anti-budget faction normally stays at home.

Why? Education and social status, as well as predicting the direction of the vote, also is associated with the very likelihood of voting itself. This is so for several reasons. As Edgar Litt has shown, the children of upper class background are given more instruction in realpolitic, and in the necessity of political participation, than are lower class children.[17] More educated persons are more continuously told of

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variable, as that the researcher has posited only one independent variable, to challenge his conclusions. Evidence is not required, merely a sophisticated smile and an offhand reference to the number of explanatory variables will damn even the toughest minded scientist. Whether this prejudice grows out of a general fear of placing all one's eggs in one basket, or is a reaction to Marx and his economic determinism, we do not know. But Occam's razor is as logically sharp today as it ever was, and its dictate, that the simplest possible explanation be advanced until destroyed by the evidence, ought still to be followed. The alternative of believing the most complex explanation knows no end, for if two causal factors are more sophisticated than one, how much better must a dozen, or more, be.

[17] Edgar Litt, "Civic Education, Community Norms and Political Indoctrination," in American Sociological Review, Vol. 28, No. 1, February, 1963, pp. 69-75.

their responsibility to participate politically in both the institutions of higher education, and afterwards as junior executives in the increasing number of business-in-politics programs being sponsored by the chamber of commerce and other business organizations. Probably most important is the fact that the alternatives upon which to vote are set by representatives of the educated upper-middle class, so that in contrast to the alienated masses they feel that the choice presented to them is real and worth the trouble to exercise. Similarly, the school board, elected annually at the time of the budget referendum in a special, non-partisan contest, is composed of business and professional persons.[18] Their clubs, luncheon associations and social circles all bring these men in contact with other more educated, upper-middle class citizens who are given the opportunity to discuss local educational issues, and more important, to make informal suggestions for modifications. The whole sense of what will and will not "go" in the community comes from interaction within this limited segment. Thus these people face the polls with a greater understanding of, and sympathy for, the issues under contention there.

The outcome of this is the fact that over four elections (1959, 1960, 1961 and 1962) only one fifth (20%) of the less educated (10 years or less education), but over half of the more highly educated (at least some college), voted. On the average, 10 per cent of the lowest educational group, 14 per cent of the medium (11, 12 years, or some trade school) and 32 per cent of the highly educated voted at any one election. This gives the highly educated, usually a minority, a solid majority in school politics. As the more educated are more pro-budget (or any other issue their peers offer to them for approval) it is possible for budgets to routinely gain voter acceptance.[19] Finally, the free time to vote is more available to a businessman or a professional than to a clerk or factory worker.

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[18] In Eugene the 1963 school board was composed of an insurance agency partner, a jewelry store proprietor, an attorney, a medical doctor, and a manager of a diesel engineering firm.

This logic leads to two models capable of explaining the gross changes from the April questionnaire to the May vote, disregarding any question of validity or reliability of the questionnaire itself. They are:

1. That only a selected number of each voting predisposition group turned out at the polls, and that a higher proportion of the pro-budget forces actually voted in Springfield. Thus the hypothesis is that the turnout rate for the pro- and anti- groups was different, with the two groups turning out in rough proportion to their strength in Eugene, but the anti- group staying home in Springfield. However, the normal expectation is for the reverse to happen, in that the anti-budget group is usually composed of the lowest socio-economic segment of society, the very group which is least participant, and therefore which is alienated by the fact that another segment of society cast the budget into its specific terms, which they must either accept as given or reject in toto. The pain of this Hobson's choice therefore leads them to behave as any group of voters caught between conflicting predispositions--not to vote.

2. That there was a change in attitude, with some pro-budget citizens shifting to an anti- position, and vice-versa, but more of the former in Eugene where the budget was rejected.

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[19] This leads some educators to a short-sighted preference for devices which foster low voting turnout, such as special education elections, non-partisan elections, etc. Unfortunately, grievances are not readily forgotten, and from time to time the normally non-participant, less educated citizen will become activated, with destructive effect. There is reason to believe that if encouraged to participate regularly, through regularly scheduled, partisan elections, the resources allocated to education would increase. Conrad Briner with others in a study of eleven state legislatures finds that when education becomes a partisan issue, the tendency is for each party to compete for the honor of doing the most for education. At least when readily identifiable parties are available to take responsibility for educational policy, the voter can reject one party or the other, and is not forced to wreck a whole school system merely in order to register dissatisfaction.

Regardless of which of the above hypotheses is supported, the additional question is raised as to why the same phenomenon did not occur in both cities, why did not both anti-budget groups turn out instead of in Eugene alone, or why did sentiment change in favor of the budget only in Springfield and not in Eugene. Both hypotheses require a change agent, or catalyst, for implementation. Who or what performed that service? First, the models will be tested.

Immediately after the first election, each person who responded to the earlier face to face interview, and several other groups in addition, were mailed a questionnaire which they were asked to complete and return to us also by mail. Funds were inadequate for another set of personal interviews, and the fact of the budget defeat was frankly just as much a surprise to the investigators as to the school administrators, so that even if funds permitted, time for planning was not available if we were to gather information from each of the many hundreds of respondents before the issue was again put to the voters after a one-month interval. Face to face interviewing would take more than a month, even if planning had reached the stage where we could begin field work the day after the first ballot.

As events were to show, a third ballot was necessary before the issue could be settled, and the campaign surrounding the issue changed so radically between second and third ballots that those still being interviewed after the first month would be responding to a very different situation. Thus inability to foresee the budget defeat and the consequent lack of planning for field work, the short time span between elections, and the shortage of funds for field work all required a mail-out and back technique. Unsatisfactory as this was to prove in many respects, it was the only method open to us.

The prime weakness of any mail-back procedure, of course, is the high non-response rate when compared to field work conducted by professional interviewers. This case was no exception, better than half of the sample failing to return even a simple item questionnaire which would take ten or so minutes to fill out. And these were people who had cooperated initially, and were thus somewhat experienced with completing structured items. As usual, the return rate varied with education and social status generally, though this is not so much informative as confirmative of our prejudices. Much more important is the fact that the return rate was higher in Eugene than Springfield. This indicates the greater interest in the issue in the former city, though to a degree this may also be a reflection of the curiosity stimulated by the surprising failure of the budget.

Analysis of our later panel data acquired by means of a special mail-out, mail-back questionnaire, required substantial modification of the turn out model. While the importance of the active, organized anti-budget minority in Eugene is no less, the impacts and functions of that minority on citizen attitudes and voting behavior is different than we originally thought. There was the expected differential turn-out of predisposed "against" voters, with more of them turning out in Eugene than in Springfield, but there were also substantial, unexpected attitudinal voting intention shifts.

The data in Table 5-13 indicate that a) there was a much greater conversion of Eugene's predisposed "for" citizens to anti-budget stance; b) a somewhat greater proportion of the predisposed "against" citizens in Eugene than in Springfield reported voting against the budget; c) a much larger proportion of Eugene's undecided citizens reported voting

TABLE 5-13

REPORTED VOTE IN MAY SCHOOL BUDGET ELECTION BY VOTING INTENTION IN APRIL - 1963

(Numbers of Respondents in Each Category)

	May Reported Action						
	Eugene						
April Intention	Voted For	Did not vote But approved	Voted Against	Did not vote But disapproved	Did not vote Not sure	No Mail-back Information	Total
For Budget	20	15	6	10	5	39	95
Against Budget	9	11	22	26	6	88	162
Not Sure	1	4	4	11	8	34	62
No Answer	--	--	1	--	--	2	3
Total	30	30	33	47	19	163	322
	Springfield						
For Budget	16	21	2	1	3	48	91
Against Budget	10	10	17	24	14	105	180
Not Sure	3	6	4	1	7	38	59
No Answer	1	--	--	--	--	4	5
Total	30	37	23	26	24	195	335

against the budget than in Springfield; and d) there were marked attitude shifts in almost every category in both cities, including an unexpected, substantial shift from a prior anti- to a supportive position in both cities.

Thus, these findings suggest that the first model referred to above needs revision. While there was a differential turn-out phenomenon there was also substantial attitudinal or predispositional instability that needs to be taken into account and explained for a fuller understanding of the budget crisis in Eugene.

Analysis of the Vote

The two most important determinants of voting intention were school decision-maker cynicism and attitude towards tax increases for community services. What is their impact on the actual vote? The data in Table 5-14 shows that when both factors predispose the voter in the same direction, as when a person trusts school officials and approves of budget increases, or is cynical about school decision-makers and disapproves of tax increases, overwhelming numbers in each city cast a ballot which is congruent with these attitudinal variables. From two-thirds to three-quarters (69% to 76%) of those who were inclined by the combined positive influence of their tax and decision-maker attitudes reported voting for the budget. Only a tenth to a sixth (17% to 8%) of the voters where the combined influence was negative overcame the impact of the two potent variables to vote in favor of adopting the budget. If just those people voted whose inclinations on one factor were in harmony with the other,

TABLE 5-14

RELATIONSHIP OF SCHOOL DECISION-MAKER CYNICISM AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS INCREASED TAXES FOR COMMUNITY SERVICES TO REPORTED VOTE, MAY 1963

Community	School Decision-maker Cynicism	Attitude Towards Increased Taxes	Reported Vote on Budget, May 1963 For	Against	Totals %	N
EUGENE	Trusting	Approve Undecided	69%	31	100	29
		Disapprove	(4)*	(4)		
			47%	53	100	17
	Cynical	Approve	(4)	(5)		
		Undecided Disapprove	17%	83	100	18
SPRINGFIELD	Trusting	Approve Undecided	76%	24	100	25
		Disapprove	(8)	(4)		
			69%	31	100	16
	Cynical	Approve	(3)	(1)		
		Undecided Disapprove	8%	92	100	13

*Numbers in parentheses are cell frequencies.

the election would have been a tie,[20] for among those in this position who responded to the mail-back questionnaire, 49 per cent in Eugene and 53 per cent in Springfield voted for the budget.

It was the voting behavior of the cross-pressured which led to defeat in Eugene and passage in Springfield. Trusting the decision-makers, but disapproving of tax increases, or the reverse, decision-maker cynicism coupled with approval of tax increases, confronts the voter with an internal conflict which is often resolved by non-participation. Contrary to expectation, however, the cross-pressured voted almost as frequently as the non-conflicted. In Eugene, 40 per cent of the cross-pressured in the sample went to the polls, and 47 per cent of the non-conflicted did so. In Springfield the percentages were 44 and 47 per cent, respectively.[21]

The cross-pressured in Eugene broke almost evenly though by a slight edge (53%) they went against the budget, which was enough to defeat it when slightly over half (51%) of the non-conflicted also voted no. This contrasted with Springfield, where the cross-pressured voted almost as heavily for the budget as those favorably predisposed by a conjunction of the two variables. This was enough to secure safe passage for the issue.

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[20] This is not unlikely, for several of the voting studies have shown that persons whose predispositions run counter to one another, as in the case of a Catholic farmer, or an urban, Protestant working man, vote less frequently than those not so cross-pressured. See Angus Campbell, Gerald Gwin and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Co., 1954), Table 11.1, pp. 158-159.

[21] The school districts in Oregon are required to retain the records of who voted in school elections, and these were used to check the respondents' report to us that they had voted against the actual record. In surprisingly few cases, ten in Eugene, and nine in Springfield, did the reported votes fail to tally with the poll book, which is 6 per cent of the 159 we checked out in Eugene, and 7 per cent in Springfield.

It is tempting to regard the even split among the cross-pressured in Eugene as the normal situation, and inquire into what led the Springfield voters to come out so strongly for the budget issue despite conflicting predispositions. The fact that the proportion of the cross-pressured voting for the budget in Eugene (47%) was about mid-way between those voting for and against, whereas the cross-pressured in Springfield swung in one direction (69% voting yes), strengthens the temptation. Superficially, the break of the cross-pressured vote implied action in Springfield, and inactivity in Eugene.

It is equally reasonable to argue that in most elections where the alternatives are support of the budget presented by elected officials and appointed experts, and the risk of damaging or in the extreme instance of closing the schools, most voters who are not initially unambivalently predisposed in one direction or the other will take the more cautious route and vote a grudging approval. The risk of disrupting the school system may be viewed as greater than the still relatively light increase in tax costs to the citizen. If this is the case, then something happened in Eugene to persuade a number of unsure voters to accept risks they would normally be reluctant to take.

Unfortunately the data cannot carry us beyond these speculations. We can only wonder if one impact of the boundary debate, and the appeal to the community on the part of the segment of the conservative business leadership dissatisfied with the rapidly growing costs, was to raise doubts about the operation of the school district, to believe that there was less chance of doing harm to what was already an unsteady structure.

The number responding to the mail-back is too small to allow a multi-variate analysis, and it is necessary to turn to another single factor, the effect of an anti-budget campaign, on the vote. Some of the leaders in the west side who were angered by the decision-making process the school board and administration employed in drawing the new school boundaries did not rest with stating their case in letters to the editor of the local paper. They came to the conclusion that the school board would pay no attention to their demands unless they could block the board in a vital area. It is almost impossible to vote in a new school board when the law provides that only one member of the five-man board be elected each year (at the time of the budget election) to hold office for five years. In order to capture a majority on the board a disaffected group would have to maintain a coherent organization for at least three years running, and this is very difficult in non-partisan elections. Even could such a stable organization be created, it would always face the danger that the first member it elected would be co-opted in the course of the one-year wait for a second dissenter. In the event, the incumbent board member won re-election easily, the slim resources which were brought to bear in the campaign being focussed on the budget.

Campaign may be too strong a word to describe what happened. There were no ads placed in the newspaper, no television time was purchased, and placards were not posted in public places. At best, a number of concerned persons contacted one another personally, either informally over the back fence, or in their clubs and organizations, and by telephone. There is no direct evidence that what took place was even a concerted action. But that people were contacted and urged to vote one way or another is evident from the responses to the mail-back questionnaire.

The number of responses upon which Table 5-15 is based is so small that the following interpretation must be regarded as highly tentative.

TABLE 5-15

IMPACT OF PERSONAL CONTACT ON REPORTED VOTE IN MAY 1963 SCHOOL ELECTION

Personal Contact	Reported Vote May, 1963			
	Eugene		Springfield	
Voting Intention	For	Against	For	Against
None				
For	4	4	7	0
Against	7	13	6	7
Not Sure	0	3	1	2
Urged to Vote Yes				
For	12	1	5	0
Against	2	2	2	1
Not Sure	2	0	2	0
Urged to Vote No				
For	0	2	1	1
Against	0	4	1	6
Not Sure	0	1	0	1
Urged to Vote Yes by Some, No by Others				
For	4	0	1	1
Against	0	2	1	3
Not Sure	0	1	0	1
No Answer				
For	0	0	2	0
Against	0	0	1	0
Not Sure	0	0	0	0
No Answer	0	0	1	0
Totals	31	33	31	23

Almost three times as many people in Eugene were urged to support the budget as were asked to vote against it (19 to 7). In only 3 instances out of 26 contacts were influence attempts unsuccessful, regardless of the initial intention of the voter. Each of the 16 reinforcement contacts (where the voter was urged to carry through his original positive or negative intention) but 1 was successful. When a person was contacted by spokesmen for both sides, he held to his intention. But conversion attempts on the part of pro-budget advocates were not as rewarding as similar attempts made by the anti-budget faction.

Reinforcement was equally successful in Springfield, although each side was equally active. There were too few attempts at conversion to draw even a tentative conclusion. The most important difference between the two cities, the one that was telling for the election outcome, was the even split among the vote of those in Eugene who had intended to support the budget, and who had not been contacted. In Springfield this same group went 7 to 0 for the budget. The uncontacted anti-budget group balloted against the budget by almost 2 to 1 in Eugene, but split evenly in Springfield.

The campaign, then, to the extent that so small a sample can be trusted, does not explain the outcome. Some dynamic was operating in Eugene which required reinforcement for the pro-budget group to adhere to their April intentions, and active conversion to shift the anti-budget group to a positive vote. In Springfield a strong campaign for the budget was not necessary, and in Eugene a much stronger effort to save the budget was necessary. Testimony to this is given by the united commitment to the budget when it was offered to the voters for the third time, after having been rejected in a second election held in June with a somewhat larger number of voters (7,605) by the same 55 per cent against, 45 per cent for split as in May.

By the third election the school board was desperate. If they did not win this time it would be too late to have the tax assessor include the school district levy in his mailed billing. The board seriously discussed the question of whether the schools could operate on the monies received from the state and other non-tax sources, and decided that it would be barely possible to maintain a standard school for only part of the year, and not at all for the year following. Unless the district maintained a standard school it would not receive the large state equalization grant, and could not even offer a semblance of an adequate education.

Even the two major groups to protest the budget, the businessmen concerned with rising taxes, and west side residents who thought the high school boundary decision unfair, did not want to see the schools closed. The former group was somewhat placated by the larger than expected state grant to the local system, which resulted in requiring a smaller tax increase than the first budget election has been premised on. The latter were also reassured when members of the school board came to a protest meeting in one of their west side schools, and paid the respect which these people of low cultural class had felt they were due. One of the leaders of this group had announced in a school board meeting that it was not the amount of the budget which led them to a negative vote, but the actions of the board and administration. Each group received some satisfaction, and each realized that by the time of the third election it was risking the educational system itself, which both valued.

Leaders of these two groups, conscious of the stakes in the third election, and mollified by events subsequent to the first two votes, joined the school board and administration in a television appeal to the public to vote yes on the third ballot. The program was very skillfully produced, opening with a teaser shot panning over an empty classroom which in effect suggested that this was what would happen to the schools next year. No voice in the community was raised at this time to oppose the budget, those still having reservations arguing that the budget should be approved and the decision-makers be tested for their responsiveness to public demands during the coming year.

At the same time, an upper-middle class pro-budget group, which had regarded the first budget defeat as an aberration that would automatically correct itself by the second election when the good citizens would turn out to support the budget, were frightened by the second defeat as resounding as the first. Obviously the situation would not right itself, and strenuous action was required to make sure that pro-voters got to the polls on this third and apparently last chance. A very energetic group of professional men and women obtained lists of all parents of school age children, and of parents of children who would enter school for the first time in the coming fall.

They employed three devices in their attempt to bring this presumably pro-budget faction out. The most widespread and cheapest device was a get out the vote mailer sent to each person on their list. Second was a phone call to selected persons on the list, and finally there was a door to door campaign to make a personal contact with as many voters as possible. These last two time and energy consuming techniques were reserved for those who had been selected as most likely to support the budget according to the judgment of the campaigners and some of their knowledgeable friends.

The results of the campaign are given in Table 5-16. In this table only those who had not been previously interviewed are examined out of a desire to avoid interaction between being interviewed and the experiment.[22] As most of the people interviewed at Time 3 were members of a panel first interviewed in 1959 (Time 1) they were more likely to be registered, and the repeated interviews concerning educational policy-making in the community were as effective in producing a motive for voting as the get out the vote campaign. In fact, 83 per cent of the panel members were registered, compared to only 62 per cent of the experimental and control groups reported in Table 5-16. All of the 119 members of the panel who had children in school (the prime criterion for exposure to the campaign) were exposed to the flyer and the phone call, and in addition a few had also been personally contacted, with the result that of those among them registered the proportion voting was 58 per cent, a turnout almost as high as the non-interviewed experimental group exposed to the full campaign (heavy).

The impact of a get out the vote campaign, at least in the heightened atmosphere of the third budget election, is very encouraging to those faced with a similar situation. Even the most minimal effort, entailing only the expense of printing up a few thousand single-page flyers and the postage to distribute them, plus the time taken by a

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[22] The experiment as presented here follows the post-test observation only form true experimental design. See Donald T. Campbell and Julian C. Stanley, "Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research on Teaching," Chapter 5 in N. L. Gage (ed.), Handbook of Research on Teaching, (Chicago: Rand McNalley and Co., 1963).

TABLE 5-16

PROPORTION VOTING AMONG THOSE REGISTERED BY CAMPAIGN EXPOSURE IN THIRD BUDGET ELECTION: EUGENE JULY 1963

Degree of Campaign Exposure	Percent Voting	Number
None	40%	199
Moderate*	50%	97
Heavy*	59%	92

*Moderate means the individual received a flyer in the mail and a phone call urging him to vote. Heavy means in addition to the above, a personal contact at the individual home was probable. See text for discussion.

short phone call, produced a 25 per cent increase in turnout over the same group not campaigned.[23] A personal contact in addition to flyer and phone call led to an additional 20 per cent increase in turnout.[24] The vote in the third election, in which 10,895 went to the polls, a record for the district, was 68 per cent yes, 32 per cent no. The number voting against the budget hardly changed from the second election, but those in favor more than doubled in number. Whatever led the cross-pressured to break evenly in Eugene, instead of for the budget as in Springfield, had been overcome by an intense although inexpensive campaign.

This still leaves the key question unanswered, for it is beyond the data. We can only speculate that any one or a combination of several factors may have been operating to swing the cross-pressured, uncontacted Eugene voters against the first budget. As the data in Table 5-11 shows, there is an increasing anti-tax sentiment among all groups in the community, but especially among the more educated. This is not a wholly satisfactory explanation for the budget failure in Eugene, for if anything, this anti-tax feeling has been greater in Springfield. Of course it may have been an accident that this sentiment manifested itself first in Eugene, then a year later in Springfield, when the citizens of that community rejected their school budget in the first election (and accepted it in the second).

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[23] Even given the intense pressure to get the budget passed, the pro-committee was kind enough to drop 200 randomly selected names from its mailing list so that we would have a control group. The campaign was hurriedly organized and implemented, and out of necessity only the most general records were kept. For this reason we are not absolutely sure that each person in the Heavy category in Table 5-16 was contacted personally, only that he was on the list of those scheduled for contact. In checking over well-used and barely legible lists the 92 persons listed in the Heavy category seemed to have been contacted at their homes.

[24] In many ways the get out the vote experiment reported above is a replication of Harold Foote Gosnell's classic 1927 study, Getting Out the Vote; An Experiment in the Stimulation of Voting (University of Chicago: 1927), 128 pp. Gosnell used postcards to increase registration, but our results are almost identical in proportion activated.

It may also be that the growing radical right has mobilized beyond increasing opposition to taxes to the point that many are withdrawing support from the institutions of government, particularly an innovating and progressive school system. The evidence presented in Chapters II through IV provide no basis for this hypothesis, as few are aware of the innovations that are taking place, and most citizens are favorably inclined towards the general concept of new teaching techniques. In addition, the innovations in Springfield, while not entirely similar in that their major manifestation up to the Time 3 election was a proposed ungraded primary school, were hardly less extensive. Finally, neither of the two types of dissident leaders in Eugene were members of the radical right. One group was centered around respectable orthodox conservative businessmen; the other was composed of persons who had not been active politically prior to the boundary dispute (except in local P.T.A.s) but who later came to support liberal candidates for public office.

The one surviving explanation is the boundary dispute itself. We cannot test this hypothesis as the interview schedule was planned well in advance of the controversy, and we have an indication of the impact of the issue only from the open-ended questions which asked what were the issues or what did the respondent discuss. We have no information as to the attitude of the respondent towards the alternate boundary proposals, and moreover, have no way of telling how many were disaffected by the ramifications of the controversy which called into question the integrity of the school leadership. This is not to say that a single incident can threaten an entire school system. Given the rapidly increasing opposition to rising taxes, and the slowly growing alienation from school decision-makers, an otherwise isolated issue can bring defeat. The defeat may have come in any instance during the following year, or the one after, for the board was bound to make an unpopular decision if only because it makes so many decisions. The net effect of the dispute may only have been to bring a more basic unrest to a head that particular year. If the school board can learn from this defeat the effect on public education in the district may be slight. If not, basic hostilities will continue unabated waiting only for another incident to serve as a focus for their energies.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS -- THE ROADS AHEAD

The study reported in the preceding pages represents an investment of over four years of time from the first measurements of citizen orientations towards their schools in selected Oregon cities to the analysis of the data collected in 1963. A fortuitous accident, the generation in Eugene's school system of the Eugene Project, provided the occasion for this natural experimental study. A major investment of funds and manpower brought the study from the design through the analysis and write-up stages. Neither that time period nor that major resource investment permits a final conclusion to the study as yet. The reason for its necessary incompleteness and the steps that still lie ahead are specified in these concluding pages.

Apart from the limitations due to the failure to take into account sufficiently early the need for data on extra-local sources of information and influence on citizen school orientations, some of the major findings as expressed in the hypotheses tested in Chapters III and IV, supra, must remain tentative until a new phase of data-analysis is completed. Specifically, awareness of and attitudes towards new teaching techniques and towards the Eugene Project were measured only at Time 3, 1963, and not at Time 1, 1959. The inferences that the Eugene Project had a reinforcement effect from Time 1 to Time 3 on a few citizens with already positive school orientations at Time 1 and that the programs of new teaching techniques in both Eugene and

Springfield had in substantial numbers such a reinforcement effect as well as the effect of making more positive the school orientations of non-fans must be treated as tentative, preliminary findings due to the absence of earlier, Time 1 measurements of the independent variables. Since those other factors were not constant from 1959 to 1963, it would seem that an assumption of constancy for innovation perspectives is questionable.

Such missing measurements would not be particularly important if we could assume that attitudes towards new teaching techniques did not change over time. It was discovered that such attitudes were highly related at a moment in time (1963) to such variables as ratings of the schools, school decision-maker cynicism, and the like, as well as to school budget voting intentions. As a component of a more generalized civic improvement orientation it related extremely strongly to such voting intentions.

One road that future research must take is an assessment of the stability of attitudes towards new teaching techniques and the Eugene Project as well as awareness of both. A step has already been taken along that road with the administration of another wave of interviews in 1964 (Time 5) for the panels of respondents in Eugene, Springfield, and Junction City. Further analysis can and will be undertaken but some major conclusions can already be stated.

The interviews of 1964 made a second set of measurements of attitudes towards new teaching techniques as well as of citizen school orientations. Stability or change in such attitudes as they related to stability or change in attitudes towards spending more money for special education are revealed in Table 7-1.

TABLE 6-1

RELATIONSHIP OF TIMES 3-5 PATTERNS OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS NEW TEACHING TECHNIQUES TO TIMES 3-5 PATTERNS OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS SPENDING MORE MONEY ON SPECIAL EDUCATION IN EUGENE, SPRINGFIELD, AND JUNCTION CITY

	Times 3-5 Patterns: Spending for Special Education					
Times 3-5 Patterns: New Teaching Techniques Attitudes	Loyal Fans	New Fans	Former Fans	Constant Critics	Totals %	N
Eugene						
Loyal Fans*	72%	7	12	8	99	83
New Fans	38%	27	30	4	99	26
Former Fans	40%	5	50	5	100	20
Constant Critics	18%	6	18	59	101	17
Springfield						
Loyal Fans	66%	14	13	7	100	70
New Fans	44%	17	28	11	100	18
Former Fans	43%	--	43	14	100	21
Constant Critics	6%	17	22	55	100	18
Junction City						
Loyal Fans	64%	14	17	5	100	78
New Fans	67%	19	9	5	100	21
Former Fans	37%	11	31	21	100	19
Constant Critics	19%	44	6	31	100	16

*These categories exclude those respondents who did not know or did not answer at either Time 3 or Time 5. Loyal Fans approved or approved strongly at both times; New Fans were undecided, disapproved, or strongly disapproved at Time 3 but approved or strongly approved at Time 5; Former Fans were the reverse pattern; and Constant Critics disapproved or strongly disapproved at both times.

Taking Eugene first, we find, as expected, that the constant approvers of new teaching techniques were the most constant fans of the schools in respect to this special education item. The constant disapprovers of such teaching techniques were the most constant critics or opponents of special education. Those who had approved but then became critical (i.e., less than approving or strongly approving) of new teaching techniques became former fans of special education to a much greater extent than the constant approvers of such teaching techniques and to a greater extent than the new "converts" to such innovative perspectives. Half of those disenchanted with new teaching techniques moved from the fan to the former fan of special education categories. Approximately one-quarter of the new converts to such innovations became new fans of special education compared to 5 and 6 per cent of those who became or remained less than approving of new teaching techniques.

That table also reveals that the strength of the association between new teaching techniques and special education attitudes was similar at Times 3 and 5. It is of course quite possible that at two points in time two variables may be related without there being a system of relationships between the two over time. For example, among those who were unstable in their new teaching techniques attitudes, that is, those who moved from approve to disapprove or vice versa over time, may have been undergoing random shifts in attitude and the very fact of such attitude instability indicates that such citizens had less crystallized innovation perspectives than constant approvers or disapprovers. Inconstancy may at the same time reflect a kind of coin-flipping response to questions intended to measure attitudes such that attitudes are less of an internalized behavior-shaping kind of set than a loosely-held opinion with little connection to other opinions, attitudes, or behavior. The aforementioned relationships between direction of movement in new teaching techniques perspectives and the direction of movement in regard to special education attitudes argues against that being the case, at least for all citizens, in the city of Eugene.

Table 7-1 also reveals that there was an overall shift in attitudes away from approval of spending more money for special education from 1963 to 1964. Twice as many citizens in the sample became former fans as became new fans. At the same time attitudes towards new teaching techniques in the sample were moving slightly towards greater approval of such innovations. Our findings indicate that the greatest fall-off in approval of special education came among those citizens who were becoming less than approving of new teaching techniques. While there was substantial stability in attitudes towards new teaching techniques--almost 70 per cent of the Eugeneans in this sample remain as either approvers or less than approvers of such innovations from 1963 to 1964--almost one-third of the sample switched from an anti- to a pro-innovations position or vice versa, with the majority of the switchers becoming pro-new teaching techniques. And it was the minority segment of the switchers becoming less than approving of new teaching techniques which contributed disproportionately to the increased anti-special education current in the body politic.

Turning to Springfield, we find generally a similar set of Time 3 to Time 5 relationships with one exception. Those panelists who became less than approving of new teaching techniques constituted about one-sixth of the total panel but they constituted one-third of the former fans of special education, a pattern similar to that found in Eugene. Although those who were constantly other than approving of new teaching techniques were very much more constant critics of special education than those who moved from other than approval to approval of new teaching techniques, who in turn were much more a set of loyal fans of the schools relative to expansion of special education, the latter recent pro-innovations people did not become new fans of special education any more than did the former.

When we turn to Junction City, which by 1964 (Time 5) still had not entered into a program of new teaching techniques, we find a somewhat different state of affairs. Although those citizens who became non-approving of new teaching techniques after indicating approval the year before contributed a disproportionate number of former fans of special education, the citizens who were constantly less than approving of new teaching techniques expressed quite different sentiments than their counterparts in Eugene and Springfield. These consistently anti-new teaching techniques citizens remained constant critics of special education to a much lesser extent than did the consistently anti-new teaching techniques citizens in the other two cities: less than one-third of them were constant critics of special education compared to more than half in the other two communities. More than forty per cent of them became new fans of special education in contrast to six and seventeen per cent in Eugene and Springfield, respectively.

What this comparative picture of these dynamics over time suggests is that orientations towards new teaching techniques and towards special education were more closely interlocked in the two cities with extensive programs of new teaching techniques than in the city without such a program. We shall now speculate on the implications of that inference.

Citizens of changing perspectives on new teaching techniques in Junction City seem to fit the model that portrays a person of fluctuating policy perspectives over time not as a person who deliberately changes his mind or is persuaded to do so but rather as a person of some indecisiveness with relatively little concern with the policy matters in question. Such a person might be expected to fluctuate at random in expressing opinions when asked rather than giving to an interviewer an indication of a behavior-shaping, more internalized attitude. Such a model would lead to the following kind of predictions, which were wrong for both Eugene and Springfield. If a person's policy statement is a relatively meaningless and superficial opinion, that policy statement ought not to be part-and-parcel of a more elaborate structure of opinion, so that when the policy statement changes other aspects of that more elaborate structure would not be expected to change except in a comparably random manner. Conversely, such superficial opinions, in contrast to more deeply felt attitudes, when remaining constant ought not necessarily to lead to constancy in opinions about other aspects of a policy domain.

If such assumptions can be considered reasonable, one would have expected that citizens who changed from one to another position on new teaching techniques would have become new fans or former fans in roughly equal proportions (or proportionate to the initial distributions of fans and non-fans in each new teaching techniques category). As it so happens, the proportion of initial non-fans of special education was higher among those who became approving of new teaching techniques than among those who were original approvers but then became disapprovers of new teaching techniques in both Eugene and Springfield. Yet contrary to the predictions that flow from the aforementioned model, the latter became much more critical of special education than the former in both cities. Even in Junction City where the initial distributions were different, those who became less approving of new teaching techniques became more critical of special education at a disproportionate rate.

The numbers of people in these later panels are extremely small and the findings must be treated with caution. On the other hand, analyses of the Time 3 to Time 5 data for such other citizen school orientations as increasing taxes to provide public kindergartens reveal substantially similar patterns. The panelists revealed different shifts in attitudes towards kindergartens than towards special education. While there was a general shift towards a weakening of approval of special education in both Eugene and Springfield, sentiments towards kindergartens improved in the former city. Yet the relationships of the shifts over time in new teaching techniques attitudes to kindergarten attitudes was similar in both Eugene and Springfield. In Junction City there was even less of an association between those two variables than in the case of attitudes towards new teaching techniques and attitudes towards kindergartens.

The alternative model that is suggested to account for these kinds of findings is as follows. Apart from the segments of the citizenry of a community whose policy attitudes are both stable and interlocked with other policy attitudes in particular domains, such as the local public school system, there are citizens whose positions change on various policy matters not always because they are manifestations of no concern or indecision or coin-flipping (and there are such cases) but because their attitudes change--for various reasons. Because particular attitudes are not simply idiosyncratic but components of more general orientations towards a larger set of policy matters, sometimes extending even beyond a particular institutional domain (e.g., to matters of municipal government as well as of public school affairs), changes in one policy attitude are associated with or have impacts upon other policy attitudes. In addition, then, to random changes in opinions and in addition to attitude constancy, there are explicable, purposive changes.

One avenue for further research, then, has to do with obtaining a better understanding of the conditions and causes of particular attitude change. Another fundamental matter is to assess whether policy attitude changes of the kind referred to are actually matters of independent or causal variables making impacts upon dependent or effect variables. To clarify whether relationships between changes and stability in innovation perspectives on the one hand and other educational orientations on the other are matters of associations wherein changes occur simultaneously or whether--and which--changes in a particular variable cause changes in the other or whether such sets of changes are due to still other variables needs to be studied with longer time series kinds of research designs.

The model that emerges from these kinds of findings can be elaborated to account for the differences between Eugene and Springfield on the one hand and Junction City on the other. If the fact that the former two cities but not Junction City have relatively massive programs of new teaching techniques, programs of which citizens are generally aware and which constitute in one or another of their features subjects of discussion by surprisingly sizeable portions of the citizenries, the community or school political arena may itself have contributed to the development of policy attitude structures in the former in contrast to the more particularized or even fragmented set of educational policy attitudes in the latter. That is to say, the emphasis in Eugene and Springfield on such educational modernization innovations as new teaching techniques may have raised to a level of awareness or caused in a less conscious fashion--and however loosely--a greater crystallization or interlacing into single, more extensive structures of those and other citizen school orientations in the minds of citizens than was the case in Junction City.

Shifts in individual citizen attitudes towards new teaching techniques might be expected to have impacts on such matters as attitudes towards expanding special education programs or establishing public kindergartens in the former communities because their cultures defined or treated such matters as related whereas in the latter community changes in policy perspectives on one matter may have occurred more accidentally or randomly and in any event without connections being made between matters that were culturally-defined as relatively distinct or separate. Inconsistencies in such regards between policy perspectives at a moment in time or in currents of policy perspective change are consequently to be expected more in a city such as Junction City than in cities such as Eugene and Springfield.

Once again a cautionary note is in order. Such an elaboration of the model is most speculative. Only further analysis and additional research will establish its validity. What it does point to is a dynamic model of socio-political change that bears further probing, elaboration, and amendment. The model provides for a political system (and subsystems) in communities wherein decision-makers operate in a cultural milieu that affects their decision-making but that is in turn affected by it. At any moment in time a given cultural class system can be identified and mapped that may at the next moment in time be affected by the actions of such men as school officials or other political leaders who participate actively in the making of local educational decisions.

A community is an open system in at least two fundamental ways. Policies and decisions may originate outside of a community and be borrowed or adapted by insiders who make them binding policies for residents. At the same time citizens of various cultural class positions may be affected in their reactions to local decisions by perspectives acquired earlier in some measure directly from extra-community sources as well as acquired after decisions are promulgated or as they are implemented or effectuated.

A cultural class system, like a socio-economic class system, may be characterized by such dimensions as the degrees and kinds of class consciousness of citizens at various levels and in various roles in such a system. We have not paid particular attention to such a variable as class consciousness but its workings may be inferred to some extent by the kind of class "revolt" led by citizens of various class positions who reached numbers of lower cultural class people in the rejection of the two Eugene budgets. Given the lesser importance of such potentially binding factors as common occupational interests, it would appear that class consciousness ordinarily would be less well developed in cultural class than in socio-economic class systems. On the other hand, political ideologies may be generated at the local community level, such as Community Conservationism or that of the Radical Right to name but two recent ideological currents that were obvious in both school and municipal politics in Eugene and Springfield as well as in other communities in the United States, which ideologies may not only have differential attraction for citizens of different cultural class positions but also be attractive to some cultural class categories and resented by others.

Political ideologies as well as less coherent, more fragmented orientations and perspectives of citizens in a community may enter from the outside as well as be affected by local politics. We have seen that reactions of citizens to programs of educational modernization are determined not solely by particular local innovations of that kind but by orientations that were a joint product of local and extra-local influences. To the extent that extra-local influences are similar for citizens of several communities, one would expect that local decision-making and local politics would have relatively greater effects in causing differences between and among those communities in such matters as citizen reactions to educational modernization innovations and other local decisions of interest.

Local political decisions, namely, the high school boundary decision-making process, did trigger off a chain of events in Eugene that led to at least a temporary restructuring of the power structure in the public school domain with the defeat of two school budgets in

1963. That event seemed to suddenly catapult certain key firm fans of the schools from middle and upper political cultural class positions to clarion critics sensing that they had been deprived of a minimal political status and dignity, that is, they suddenly felt themselves to be of a very low political cultural class whose voices were ignored by a self-identified ruling elite. At the same time that former fans of the schools saw their Community Conservationist political ideology shaken, that event provided a legitimate opportunity for a few citizens whose Radical Right local political ideology had been formed in some measure by extra-community (and extra-regional) influences to join in the activation and channeling of non-ideological citizen discontent and apprehension vis-a-vis perceived trends in the local public school system. Even the latter were for some citizens primarily conceptions of trends deduced from literature describing national trends (and conspiracies) rather than from perceptions of actual local events over time.

The logic of natural experimental research calls for further experiments to clarify matters that particular studies leave ambiguous. An illustration of such ambiguity and of such a need for further research is afforded by the cultural class revolt that saw Eugene's educational decision-makers in a state of near shock and panic with the defeat of the second budget at Time 3.

We mentioned earlier in this chapter that citizens were increasingly opposed to increased expenditures for special education in Eugene and Springfield from Time 3 to Time 5. That continued a trend that was noticeable during the four-year Time 1 to Time 3 period (see Chapter III, Table 3-3, supra). However, that was not the case in Junction City from Time 3 to Time 5 which constitutes an argument against the notion that there was an increasing tax consciousness and tax revolt throughout the state during that time period.

Another argument against that assumption is the fact that while there had been increasing opposition to increasing taxes for public kindergartens (as well as substantial fall-off in approval of increasing taxes to improve city services) in both Eugene and Springfield from Time 1 to Time 3 (Chapter III, Table 3-3, supra), that trend was not evident in Junction City during Times 3 to 5, and it was actually reversed in Eugene during the latter period.

The importance of establishing the degree to which tax levels and tax consciousness was a factor in school politics in these cities is as follows. The model of political dynamics that fits the differential budget election outcomes in Eugene and Springfield at Time 3 can be sketched in the following manner. It would appear that the organization of a minority actively committed to change certain school decisions, in this case, the boundary decisions perceived as unjust and arbitrary by a number of Eugeneans, provided a necessary condition for the mobilization of a mixture of traditionally compliant, apathetic, distant and alienated citizens at the polls. Such an organization of a counter-leadership group took place in Eugene but not in Springfield prior to the budgetary defeats of 1963. Whether the occurrence of such an activity-arousing decisional event was a sufficient condition for mobilizing the discontented and the unconcerned is an important question.

There also occurred in Eugene another event concerning fiscal expenditures and taxes, namely: the efforts of a few citizens to institute a merit-pay program for teacher salaries. It was impossible to parcel out the contributions to the rise of an active opposition in Eugene of the boundary decision on the one hand, and of the fiscal focus of the merit-pay proponents on the other. It was easier to infer that a generally state-wide rising concern with increasing educational expenditures was not a causal factor in these dynamics given the differential electoral outcomes in Eugene and Springfield where such a concern was evident but of at least equal magnitude from Times 1 to 3. And it was also easy to infer that widespread citizen opposition to "newfangled" teaching techniques was not a major factor in such dynamics given the absence of such widespread opposition.

To further develop and elaborate models and theories of such political dynamics, it would be necessary to search for situations to conduct natural experiments where one of the aforementioned experimental stimuli occurred but not the other. While it may not be easy to find the appropriate circumstances, and while it may mean a very long-term field research program before the particular combinations of circumstances occur, the requirements of theory-building necessitate much more extensive efforts in that direction than have yet been attempted by educational researchers and social scientists.

The differences discussed as extant by 1964 between Eugene and Springfield on the one hand and Junction City on the other as well as some of the differences found and reported in earlier chapters seem quite small and trivial compared to those that can be imagined as existing between and among communities. A most important avenue of further research lies in cross-national comparative community studies The composite federal-local model of citizen reactions to community decisions that provides both for deduction by citizens based on already-developed and partly extra-local orientations, values, and information and for induction based on local happenings needs to be fitted to communities in nations that have constitutionally and traditionally more central national governments. Additional insight into the models that are being developed on the basis of studies in such American communities as the Oregon cities studied in this research project may be obtained by moving the research site to manifestly different foreign communities.

Another question of some significance that could be thus explored would be whether cultural class systems as they are concerned with local educational policy vary considerably as a result of differences in national-local socio-economic systems, the role of national-local parties in educational decision-making, and other such system variables, or whether there tends to be generated a relatively common kind of cultural class system and educational decisional dynamics regardless of national differences due to the ubiquity of educational problems, practices, and professional orientations of educational establishments in at least the relatively developed countries of the world. Actually, we would expect sharp variations and differences, but such predictions remain only speculations until put to the test of empirical inquiry. And it is through such empirical inquiry that models of the kind with which we are concerned can be improved and extended as they must for understanding of school politics to increase.

We conclude this report by mentioning something of the policy implications of our findings from this natural experimental study. One of the most clear-cut inferences of a policy character that can be made is that educational decision-makers may too frequently be unaware that their communities have cultural class systems, if these natural histories of school politics in these Oregon cities are any guide. There seems to be an assumption that people are "right-thinking" or else ill-informed, and the task of the educational program innovator is to rely for support on the friends of the schools and to inform the ignorant. Although there is increasing talk of the "culturally deprived" or the "culturally disadvantaged" in this era of the national poverty programs, school officials and civic leaders alike do not seem to appreciate that various cultural class categories may have distinctly different perspectives and interests in different programs of educational innovations. As we have shown, lower cultural class groupings are not so anti-education that they do not appreciate or approve of programs that they conceive as more in their interests than programs for the academically able students or for the assertedly underpaid teacher or administrator.

To be sure, certain cultural class groupings tend to be consistently loyal fans of the schools and can be relied upon to give their support at the polls--although motivating them to appear at the polls may be a problem. Such categories would include besides employees of the schools, a traditionally high voting turnout category, citizens of progressive education orientations, of positive generalized civic improvement orientations, of the feeling that school decision-makers should rule more or less autonomously--although responsibly. There are others in the cultural class system, however, who are only partially identifiable in terms of socio-economic criteria, and they constitute ever-present obstacles to modernization, reorganization or expansion of public school programs and practices.

Although only a small minority of school bond issues and budgetary elections fail in United States communities every year, the danger is not only the defeat of a particular monetary measure but the consequences of such defeats. It has not been possible to obtain figures on the numbers of different school districts that have suffered such fiscal defeats by citizens during the past decade. Even though the numbers and proportions of unsuccessful to successful school elections per year are known, it is not known how many different school districts have suffered such electoral setbacks. What is even more speculative is the possibility that in a good number of such school districts an electoral defeat, rare though it may be, causes school officials to be exceedingly cautious after experiencing such an event with substantial consequences on the boldness and imaginativeness of future program planning. Research needs also to be undertaken on the possibility that neighboring school districts become more cautious when such a school electoral defeat occurs in a particular district. And it is impossible to say without empirical investigation how many school districts even in the absence of electoral defeats of money measures in their own or in neighboring districts try to anticipate and prevent such events by raising and allocating much less resources than they think are actually needed by their school systems.

There is also a tendency for school decision-makers to assume a constancy of educational perspectives on the part of citizens, whether those citizens are regarded as fans, foes, or apathetic. Just as there does seem to be a relatively stable set of fans and non-fans, our findings also point to inconstancy and change over time on the part of goodly numbers of citizens in our Oregon communities.

While a portion of such change in attitudes towards various features of the public school system, including the school decision-makers themselves, is random change and indicative of distance and apathy, other changes are patterned, explicable changes. Even the change that reflects lightly and loosely held opinions or even unreliable measuring instruments offers a challenge to school officials who might be interested in making fans not only of foes and critics but also of the unconcerned. The latter prove to be people who lack active involvement and interest in public school affairs not so much because they are busy with other matters and cannot spare the time for everything but because they have orientations based on a very low ranking of public school affairs as they know the public schools in their scheme of values. Given the traditional concern of many schools with particular segments of a citizenry, such as the college-bound, and their lesser concern with the work-bound, with the culturally disadvantaged, with racial minorities, and with adults generally not to speak of aged adults, it is not surprising that school officials feel a certain lack of interest in shaping and reshaping perspectives of many school patrons and residents.

From 1963 to 1964, a one-year period of time, we have seen that even attitudes towards new teaching techniques changed for almost a third of the citizens in the research communities. When one considers that such changes frequently have wider effects on citizen orientations towards the schools because such innovation perspectives are not unrelated to various other aspects of school affairs, it would seem that school officials would be interested in analyzing such change in order to influence its direction in the future. The major efforts in Eugene, a relatively progressive school system compared to many others in the nation, to reach the public with its widely-publicized Eugene Project seems to have been a misplaced investment of resources compared to the apparent success of Springfield's educational decision-makers in accomplishing the same goals without the public fanfare. Yet the Eugene Project, apart from its natural appeal to particular segments of the community and its irrelevance to other major segments, was communicated to the citizenry in predictable ways. The public information program was indicative of the feeling on the part of many of the school authorities and involved lay citizens that they themselves were representative of the modal cultural class segment of the community. The printed brochure, the special meeting at the public school, the P.T.A.—these were the channels used by men and women accustomed to operating with and in such subcultural settings. Given the class character of P.T.A. alone in the city of Eugene, it is little wonder that masses of citizens in the lower portions of the cultural class structure did not even recognize the name of the new teaching techniques project.

The generally positive impacts of the introduction of this program of educational modernizations in both Eugene and Springfield in maintaining the support of fans of the schools and in attracting the support of non-fans would suggest that school officials be less wary and more adventuresome in making such innovation decisions. The failures to reach more people in Eugene than were reached in Springfield might stimulate a reconsideration of the means used to reach relatively distant or even ordinarily unreachable people on the part of officials and citizens interested in modernizing their schools. The potential support to be derived from citizens who have interests, actual or potential, in other aspects of public school improvement should engender major efforts to assess what kinds of programs would accomplish that and be in the interests of the mission of professional educators in communities. Operation Headstart, as one example, suggests the kind of local educational innovation that might well have been put into practice on a much larger scale even before the thrust for such a pre-school program was developed at the national level. Programs designed to end de facto segregation by race and by cultural class regardless of race offer challenges for the next decade to innovative school authorities and civic-minded citizens.

Whether such efforts will be made on the necessary scale and with the necessary imagination and spirit of adventure only time and natural experimental research will tell. What their consequences may be on citizens, on the cultural class system, and in the body politic is a matter of the greatest fascination and import for those--such as the present researchers--who feel that educational decision-makers must participate more actively in solving the major metropolitan, urban, economic and technological, class, racial crises that threaten to overwhelm local public school systems among other community institutions. Public school systems may continue to operate as if such problems were not there or as if such problems could be managed or solved with methods suitable to the educational, social and political problems of earlier eras, or they may survive and become healthier by changing and adapting to the new conditions of twentieth-century life in the United States. Just as the needs of the modern world dictate sharp innovations in teaching techniques, so, too, do other needs of the modern world demand even sharper departures with traditional ways of doing things. The local communities that succeed will offer examples that can be adopted and transmitted rapidly throughout the country by and through the network of local and national educational authorities much as the post-Sputnik technical revolution in teaching techniques has spread throughout the land. The alternative prospect is that local community school systems will increasingly become less autonomous agents of extra-local authorities with some loss in the opportunities for creative individual participation in decision-making that a healthy federal system requires.

APPENDIX A

C Scale

A Measure of School Censure

An Attitudinal scale developed by the use of Guttman Scaling technique.

Scoring Procedure

Agree Strongly	0
Agree Somewhat	1
Agree Slightly	2
Disagree Slightly	3
Disagree Somewhat	4
Disagree Strongly	5

Items in Order of "Difficulty"	Cutting Points
1. Public schools change too many children away from their parents' ideas.	+ 2/3 -
2. There is too much emphasis on cooperation in our public schools and not enough emphasis on competition.	+ 2/3 -
3. The public schools are not teaching the fundamentals as well today as they used to.	+ 2/3 -
4. Nowadays children get pampered too much in the public schools.	+ 3/4 -

Pattern				Score	
+	+	+	+	4	High Censure
-	+	+	+	3	
-	-	+	+	2	
-	-	-	+	1	
-	-	-	-	0	Low Censure

1959 Eugene Sample

$$\text{Coefficient of Reproducibility} = 1 - \frac{95}{386 \times 4} = .9385$$

1959 Springfield Sample

$$\text{Coefficient of Reproducibility} = 1 - \frac{140}{4 \times 513} = .9312$$

The 1963 data for Eugene-Springfield area was scaled on these same items. The two cities were not scaled separately nor were the fringe areas differentiated. This involved 657 respondents. This scale was intended as a measurement for longitudinal analysis involving a 1963-59 panel in the two communities, therefore Knills procedures,and were followed exactly. Order of difficulty, cutting points, and assignment of error and NA patterns were assumed to be the same in both years. In actuality they were not, but the assumption was made for the sake of comparability.

1963 Eugene-Springfield Control

Coefficient of Reproducibility $= 1 - \frac{195}{4 \times 566} = .92$

APPENDIX B

Partial Correlation Analysis

Definition of variables:

T = tau coefficient of association
y = vote intention prior to school election
x = attitude towards new teaching techniques
z_1 = level of educational attainment
z_2 = attitude towards raising taxes to provide public kindergartens
z_3 = rating of the local public schools
z_4 = expected response of school officials to citizen problems

All of these variables were trichotomized (all extra responses such as DK, NA etc. were recoded as the median score, i.e., undecided, not sure etc., except school official response where DK was recoded with ignore responses).

These coefficients were calculated from the 1963 Eugene-Springfield Sample N = 656 rather than 657 because one NA on educational level was dropped.

T was calculated using Blalock's method for grouped data (Kendall's tau for grouped data). (Social Statistics, McGraw-Hill, 1960, pp. 321-324)

$T_{xy.z}$ was calculated from the following equation:

$$\frac{T_{xy} - T_{xz}\,T_{yx}}{\sqrt{(1 - T^2_{xz})(1 - T^2_{yz})}}$$

The following zero order correlations were obtained:

$T_{xy} = .233$

$T_{xz_1} = .184$ $\qquad$ $T_{xy.z_1} = .225$

$T_{yz_1} = .107$

$T_{xy} - T_{xy.z_1} = .013$

$T_{yz_2} = .181$

$T_{xy.z_2} = .221$

$T_{xz_2} = .133$

$T_{xy} - T_{xy.z_2} = .017$

$T_{yz_3} = .110$

$T_{xy.z_3} = .229$

$T_{xz_3} = .143$

$T_{xy} - T_{xy.z_3} = .009$

$T_{yz_4} = .207$

$T_{xy.z_4} = .208$

$T_{xz_4} = .186$

$T_{xy} - T_{xy.z_4} = .030$

By ranking the relative levels of attentuation produced by the four intervening variables in the first order partial correlations it can be seen that z_4 expected school official response has the greatest attenuating power. Likewise, then z_2 kindergarten attitudes, z_1 level of educational attainment and z_3 rating of the schools, respectively.

APPENDIX C

Sampling Methods Used in Eugene-Springfield Metropolitan Study of 1958

Sampling Techniques Employed

Time 1

Eugene

Stratified sampling is a means through which increased precision in estimates can be secured from samples. With this in mind, we attempted to form strata within Eugene. As with all multi-purpose surveys, however, this was no easy task. Cochran has pointed out that "a stratification that is effective for one variable may not be so for another. In surveys which cover a range of items, some compromise criterion for the construction of strata must be found . . . . What is wanted is some variable that has high correlations with all the principle items in the survey."[1] Such a variable might well be social-economic status of the individuals within the population. The problem arises, of course, how to assign elements to different strata on the basis of S.E.S. The most useable solution seems to be a previous grouping of all the elements within the population along a dimension which correlates to some degree with S.E.S. A clue as to what this might be, can also be obtained from Cochran when he states that: "In surveys which cover a geographic region, adjacent units are often more alike than units that are far apart . . . . People in the same part of a town tend to be of similar economic level and have certain things in common in their attitudes and tastes. These remarks do not imply that the similarities are strong, but merely that they exist."[2] Within the

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[1] William G. Cochran, Sampling Techniques (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1953), p. 96.

[2] Ibid.

Eugene city limits, such a ready-made classification of people living in relatively close geographical proximity were the proposed census enumeration districts drawn up by the Lane County Planning Commission.

The city was divided into fifty-one proposed census enumeration districts or EDs with the hope that they would be used for the 1960 census count. These EDs were drawn up with the understanding that they corresponded roughly to neighborhoods employing similar land use. To a certain extent, therefore, they satisfied the requirement of stratified samples, that strata be somewhat homogeneous. The population within the EDs varied from 25 to 1200; however, 70 per cent of all EDs contained populations ranging from 800 to 1100. We decided to eliminate four EDs from consideration due to their institutional character, namely the University, the University dorms, the Amazon Housing Project for University students, and the hospital. Furthermore, we combined four EDs whose population was extremely small with adjacent EDs whose neighborhood characteristics seemed similar. The 1950 census data indicated that at least at that time, there was a certain correspondence between groups of EDs and differential economic levels. For reasons discussed earlier, we decided to employ a proportionate stratified sample using the remaining Eds as strata. By selecting a constant sampling rate of .13 and randomly selecting that proportion of blocks from within each ED we secured a proportionate stratified sample. We had previously divided each ED into mutually exclusive and exhaustive areas known as blocks. Since we decided not to select fractions of blocks, we took the nearest whole number to the product of .13 times the number of blocks within a particular ED. Due to rounding errors, we ended up with a somewhat larger number of blocks than we wanted to sample from. Therefore we decided on the following adjustments: no

ED was to have more than 4 blocks selected from it, and if the number of blocks was below 1.5, was only to have one block selected from it. Those between 1.5 and 2.7 would have two blocks selected; those between 2.8 and 3.7 three blocks; and finally all those EDs over 3.8 would have four blocks selected. This would give us a total of 105 blocks within the 43 EDs comprising Eugene with at least one block chosen from each ED and no more than four from any particular ED. From the blocks thus selected, each interviewer was instructed to take a systematic sampling of households, starting at the Northeast corner and working clockwise, alternating between female and male respondents. This systematic ordering was to be carried over block by block to avoid overrepresenting houses located on Northeast corners. Within each household, the interviewers were to interview those persons who met the following requirements: 1) those designated; 2) head of the household; 3) 21 years of age or older; 4) if no person of the required sex was residing within the household, the interviewers were to secure an interview from the head of the household of the opposite sex, but not to adjust for this in the systematic selection of respondents. Sampling procedures used in Eugene are a combination of proportional stratified sampling, multi-stage cluster sampling, systematic sampling and simple random sampling. Our aim was to end up with 575 completed interviews in Eugene.

Springfield

In Springfield we were able to secure from one of the utility companies a recent map indicating every house within the city limits. We numbered all of the blocks within the city in a serpentine fashion. In taking the systematic sample, we chose every 7th house, moving in numerical order block by block and going about each block in clock-wise fashion. To compensate for multiple residences, which were not indicated on our map, a second map was secured from the Lane County Planning Commission which showed all multiple dwelling units in Springfield, and indicated the number of households within each of these multiple dwellings. Every 7th one of these additional households were then added to our original sample. Thus we secured a systematic sampling of every 7th household within Springfield. The interviewers were given specific addresses to interview and were to systematically alternate male and female.

River Road and Ferry Street Bridge Area

The Eugene Water and Electric Board made available to us their meter books of these areas, which indicated all users of electricity and water in the area. Since hardly any multiple dwellings within these areas did not also have separate meters for each household, we felt confident that the meter books gave us a total population of all households within these areas. We then systematically selected every 33rd household in River Road and every 22nd in the Ferry Street Bridge area, not counting those meter book pages which indicated the customer being a commerical establishment rather than a residential household. The systematic numbers of 33 and 22 were arrived at by dividing the number of interviews we desired within each area plus 20 per cent (85 and 125 respectively) into the number of households in each area (which figure we secured from a recent survey completed by the Bureau of Municipal Research at the University of Oregon).

East Springfield

A slight complication arose in sampling this area since it is serviced by three utility companies. Basically the operation was similar to that employed in the River Road and Ferry Street Bridge areas, with a systematic sampling of every 10th household. A slight deviation from this pattern occurred when we took every 20th name along the McKenzie Highway on which are located many commerical establishments which were not differentiated from residential users in PP & L's file. Sampling devices used in Springfield, River Road, Ferry Street Bridge and East Springfield were employed primarily for their simplicity and their ease of access, and inclusiveness of the total population of elements we were interested in. Using EDs seemed extremely inappropriate in the fringe areas due to large variation of certain types of individuals living within each ED. The type of systematic sampling employed in Springfield gives us estimates of the population parameters closely approximating those that would be secured from a proportionate stratified sample. It should be emphasized that although a variety of sampling techniques have been employed, all are of the probability type, supplying us with measurements of the precision of estimates.

Times 2 and 3

Having thus established the basic samples at Time 1 (1959) in both Eugene and Springfield, the panel waves were simply the re-interviews of an interval of the 1959 samples. At Time 2 in Eugene (1960) 225 of the original Time 1 sample was re-interviewed. Likewise, in Springfield at Time 2 (1961) 220 respondents were re-interviewed. The third panel wave, Time 3 (1963 for both Eugene and Springfield), saw 250 panel members re-interviewed in Eugene and 271 in Springfield. At this time 50 respondents were drawn from new residential areas in each community.